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Art. I.—THE MEANING OF LITERARY HISTORY.

1. *A History of English Poetry*. By W. J. Courthope. Four vols (in progress). London: Macmillan, 1895-1903.
2. *A Short History of English Literature*. By George Saintsbury. Second edition. London: Macmillan, 1903.
3. *Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature*. New edition. By David Patrick. Three vols. London and Edinburgh: Chambers, 1901-3.
4. *English Literature: an illustrated record*. By Richard Garnett and Edmund Gosse. Four vols. London: Heinemann, 1903.
5. *L'Histoire comparée des Littératures*. Par Joseph Texte. 1896. In *Études de Littérature européenne*. Paris: A. Colin, 1898.
6. *La Littérature comparée: Essai bibliographique*. Par Louis P. Betz. Strassburg, 1900.
7. *Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature*. 1898-1904.

THE idea that literature, being an art, must disown the antipathies of nations and belong to the world is now strongly rooted, and can but grow in power to quicken and to liberate. We think of the peoples of Europe and America, to go no farther, as one day forming a league of intellectual republics, where each absorbs from the others whatever conceptions, whatever forms of art, it can take without loss of independence. Such a federal hope, having once come to mankind, can hardly prove a mere vision of the night; for there is nothing higher to supersede it, and yet it can never be exhausted by realisation. Like all formative ideas, it began to work in men's minds long before it was consciously apprehended;

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for it has received a blind tribute whenever any literature, from the Roman onwards, has submitted to foreign influence. Its clear proclamation is one of the debts of modern Europe to the German mind, and is found, as might be expected, in a noble form in Goethe. In a note written in 1828 on 'The Edinburgh Review' and 'The Foreign Quarterly Review,' Goethe lays down the higher aim of all such journals.

'As they win, step by step, a larger public, they will contribute in a most effectual way to what we hope for—an universal world-literature. We only repeat, there can be no question of the nations thinking in accord. But they must simply become aware of and comprehend one another; and, if they cannot attain to mutual love, they must at least learn to bear with one another.'

Goethe owed something here to pioneers like Herder. The same voice is heard again in Matthew Arnold:

'The criticism which alone can much help us for the future is a criticism which regards Europe as being, for intellectual and spiritual purposes, one great confederation, bound to a joint action and working to a common result.'

In this direction Goethe worked more effectively than any other man. By his activity and fame, by his curious and remote reading, his translating, his dismissal of politics and of the illusions counter to his ideal that politics may generate, and by his transference to art of the universal spirit of science, he is the apostle of the federal conception of literature, to which he found Europe ready, while he made it readier, to listen. 'Great talents,' he says himself, 'are the finest peacemakers.' Our aim here, after noting some other origins of this federal conception, and some obstacles to its fulfilment, is to ask how its presence affects the methods of writing literary history. The variety of these methods is evident in the current histories of our own literature.

The hope of a free international exchange for thought and knowledge, and even for poetry and letters, is, we are now beginning to forget, an old one. There was once a suzerain general language, beside which all others had the air of pretenders. The rise of the modern states and tongues had broken up, at the beginning of the

Middle Age, the traditional primacy of Latin as the organ of verse and eloquence; and the Latin Renaissance, while it gave a fresh and artificial lease to the language, only ended in quickening the vernaculars through acquaintance with ancient art, thought, and life; whilst the Reformation gave some of them new rank as languages of ritual and religion. Still, down into the seventeenth century, Latin was often chosen by the strongest brains, from Grotius and Bacon to Spinoza and Newton, as the natural voice of science and philosophy, which have no frontiers, and was used by many theologians, Protestant as well as Catholic, and some poets. But soon afterwards the words of Hobbes may be transferred to Latin: it is 'the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof.' The works of Leibnitz are in three languages. Latin is there, but French is paramount, and philosophical German is proving its muscles in its cradle. But French, far as it spread, could never take the lost place of Latin. Apart from any incapacities of its own, it was always being checked by English; and the growth of German was hardly needed to abolish for ever the notion of a master-language. With such aid the federal idea has had to dispense; and yet that idea has grown until, for the purposes of positive knowledge, and in a less measure for those of speculation, it is clear in every mind. But in applying it to art there is a natural hindrance; and this must be got over, or it may seem fatal, before we can safely think of Europe and America as one republic of letters.

Knowledge is international or it is nothing; its matter does not alter with the language in which it is conveyed. Science, or the body and method of knowledge, is impersonal and above race; it cares nothing for the personality or nature of its servants, except as possible sources of error. Thus science, being federal, unites and confounds, while art, being personal, sunders and identifies. The aim and power of art is to realise, in unique unchanging form, the spirit of the individual. Nothing but art saves his identity; for the children that he leaves, the polity that he forms, and all the other works of his hands, alter when he is gone, only what has received form retaining permanence. Also the aim of art, in contrast with science, is to give pleasure through beauty. And the beauty

realised by each artist, the beauty of each of his works must be unique, and the corresponding pleasure unique. Hence the significance of form; it is the last and only firm abiding-place of personality, and is the source of a series of pleasures, each of which is unique. And deep in the art whose medium is language there lies a barrier, obvious when brought to notice, against a perfect understanding between peoples. For the masters of each language play on many associations which lie below or above the reason common to all nations, and which are only for native hearers. The inner cell of the poet's mind is not hung with diagrams or charts of doctrine which are equally true or false in all climates; it is peopled with bodiless tunes that seek their phrase, and solitary phrases that seek their rhyme, until, from the discovery, the chance contact, thought, and not sound only, is born. For the actual matter of poetry and the finer prose is in part a creature of its sound, as can be seen if the sound be changed; so that the matter itself and not merely what we call the 'style,' is incommunicable and untranslatable. Rarely can a congenial artist of another land reproduce a parallel emotional effect by a translation, as Baudelaire did with the work of Poe, which he understood as Poe's countrymen could not. This inherent cause tends to isolate literatures and makes it hard for poetry and letters to become cosmopolitan. It is, however, only the more necessary that they should strive that way, and join the uniting forces, like trade and education and science, rather than the estranging forces like racial idiosyncrasy and political distrust.

History comes to our help and shows that art, in order to reach its utmost expressiveness, as well as knowledge for its fullest increase, is always making foreign raids and returning enriched. It is, in fact, a series of demonstrations of the actual interplay of art between the nations. The laws of this interplay have yet to be found; it cannot be predicted; thus far we can only judge by the event. The animal instinct to seek food from any part of the environment is operative in art; not necessarily from the nearest spot, for neighbourhood does not always create an understanding, or distance prevent one, in art any more than in love. The Rhine, for instance, has failed really to unite, or the Channel

to separate, the art of the countries naturally bordered by those waters. And the problem is made more intricate by the variety of causes which affect art but often lie outside it. Some are political and material—wars and treaties, and persecutions, and emigrations, and inventions, and trade. Others are philosophical and spiritual, and may come from antiquity, or from distant countries, or from both. But by merely external and material events literature has always shown a surprising power to profit. So, to take stray cases, France, after 1660, was able to teach England just what our whole history had taught us to ignore—the need of lucidity, composition, and a central diction for prose. The Holy Alliance provoked the better part of Byron. Through modern facilities of travel and printing, the mind and craft of Ibsen have left a strain of exoticism and alien depth in the works even of the Latin theatre.

In the same way the hunger to appropriate from Italy is found, and is different at every stage—the beginning, the strength, and the decline, of our English Renaissance. Material causes, such as the increase of travel, aided a spiritual influence that demanded expression in art. Wyatt found the battered forms of English verse inadequate for the new energies of poetry, and he therefore leaned upon the forms of Italy—the porcelain sonnet of the Petrarchans, the satiric *terza rima* of Alamanni. Drummond, in the void and chill of inspiration, went to the same school in an economical spirit, to practise foreign finish. Different is the careless borrowing of Shakespeare the prodigal, so many of whose tales derive sooner or later from Italy, but who so transformed them as to overwhelm his creditors, creating types like Iago and Romeo. So complex may be the sway of one literature over another during a single period. And the story is incomplete if the chapter of revulsions from foreign influence is ignored. These may spring, like the Puritan distrust of Italy, from motives not artistic; or, like the revolt of Lessing against the prescriptions of French tragedy, may mean that a young art is restive under a foreign superstition.

One side, then, of literary history is the examination of these international forces, just as in cartography maps are devoted to tracing the currents of wind and

ocean, apart from all irrelevant boundaries. Such forces in the main are reducible to four. Two of them rest on the impulse to expand, explore, and assimilate. A nation, in order to find fresh life-blood for its art, may turn first to foreign sources. This makes for internationalism and serves the federal ideal, and falls to the appropriate, 'comparative,' chapter of literary history. Or, secondly, inspiration may be sought from classical antiquity, either directly or through the modern literatures it has moulded. The historian, then, must write one more chapter on the influence of the revival of learning. But these two forces of expansion and inspiration are ever checked by two others, which rise up from the wells of national pride and power in a mood of alarm for the integrity of national art. We may suddenly turn for renewal to the writings of our own far past, which have some of the strangeness of those of a foreign land, but can never be wholly foreign while race and language persist. William Morris went back to Chaucer, and, indeed, to the stories, both heroic and romantic, that are common to the old Germanic world. A play like Mr Swinburne's 'Rosamund, Queen of the Lombards,' or the lofty tragedy of the late Miss Beatrice Barmby, 'Gísli Súrsson,' which is founded on the saga of Gísli, show how the Germanic past may yet speak to us. But, fourthly, sometimes even this instinct is neglected; a nation is moved to assert its identity and strength, and falls to creating a fresh art almost without passing beyond its own time and frontiers. This is rare. The old Norse literature, like the Greek, was largely self-sown; but it would be hard to name any period of modern literature since the twelfth century when any of these four forces—of contemporary foreign art, of the classic world, of the native tradition, and of pure initiative—has been quite in abeyance. Working together in changing proportion, they make up the pattern of a literature, though they are often quickened, or checked, or channelled, by conditions largely commercial and material.

At this moment various elements, apart from the temporary state of peace in Europe and the partial quiescence of race-hatred, favour internationalism in letters. The chief countries have some fraternal acquaintance with one another's art. Their tongues are learned

wherever the systems of public instruction are good. Translating is a large industry, as any English reviewer of the last ten years can testify, though in English it is often a coarse disguise of the originals; and such achievements as the English version of the '*Comédie Humaine*,' made some years ago by Miss Ellen Marriage and Mrs Clara Bell, under Professor Saintsbury's guidance, are rare. On the other hand, the famous German translation of Shakespeare was the gift of a few men to the whole of their race. All around there is probably more translating than there has ever been since the age of Locke. This is true of poetry and fiction, though it is always truer of science and philosophy, since the craving for knowledge and thought is commoner among men than the craving for style and beauty, and since translating, seen by Goethe to be necessary for the fulfilment of his dream, is too nice an art to be often practised well.

The whole manner of writing literary history must alter, the more clearly these impulses, national or federal, are perceived to be at work. The older critics, Dryden, Boileau, Johnson, were seldom historians at all, but judged half by canon and half by mother-wit, caring little how books grew. Even Lessing judged greatly by canons, though by fresher and deeper ones. Imagination and tact were the birthright of Lamb; gusto and acuteness that of Hazlitt; while Coleridge had the philosophic power to recall and re-word the creative process of the poet. They all have their scornful or reproachful message to the learned who merely hunt for tendencies and are blind to the work of art. But they themselves lived before the historic sense had reached criticism, and they did not try to write history at all. This task, in England, fell to men of learning rather than to men of genius; for neither Gray nor Pope carried out the wish to write a chronicle of English poetry; and Warton's was the first. It broke fresh ground, and showed the wealth of old romance; but its contribution, being mainly one of knowledge, has been absorbed; it was not philosophic; and its vindication of romance soon became unnecessary. The first history in English that covered both verse and prose, and was written spaciouly and with due knowledge, was Hallam's '*Introduction to the Literature of Europe during the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries*.' In Hallam's pre-

face are named the encyclopædic Germans who had tried such tasks before. Hallam divides his theme, not by nations, but by the branches of literature, or rather of knowledge, each chapter treating of the history of one branch between certain dates. We certainly get from this ordering the sense of Europe as a great and productive society of minds. But Hallam's real subject is not the monuments of the art of writing, but the culture recorded in books. He admits almost every printed thing that furthered knowledge; and a numismatist is as good a quarry to him as a poet. Thus the literature of knowledge and that of power are confounded, and the systematic study of the mutual debts of nations is but dimly recognised. Yet his book is not dead, being learned, clear, and honest; and his chilly ray of impartial daylight is worth more than any sham-patriotic idolatries.

Hallam shows that a critical method which had already come into flower had failed to reach him. Sainte-Beuve, the greatest of literary historians, never wrote a history of letters; for his 'Tableau' of French letters in the sixteenth century was done in youth; and the masterpiece, 'Port-Royal,' chronicles a spiritual movement and its apostles rather than literature. Yet the 'Causeries' revealed a new task for all future historians. Sainte-Beuve had erudition, science, method; but his sensitiveness, his judgment, kept pace with his science; he accepted all writers, but surrendered to none; and his insight into the lesser minds that people literature has never been excelled. He left criticism in a state of disquiet by showing that its work is not to judge by preformed canons of artistic, and still less of ethical, excellence; and that it must never be content with the mere study of outward conditions, sources, and influences, but must use these only to press on to the discovery of what each artist, inalienably, uniquely, brings—of that within him which determines *what* influences he shall accept. On this track Sainte-Beuve advanced in triumph; and he has shown us his motive power as a critic in his remarks on a book that, with all its blindnesses, yet remains the most quick and real one on the subject, Taine's 'History of English Literature.' Taine spoke as though he could deduce the artist and his work from a study of the 'milieu,' or personal, social, and racial environment. Sainte-Beuve vindicates what may

be called the artist's freewill, which remains when all the conditions of his growth have been analysed. He says :—

'However well the net is woven, something always remains outside and escapes it; it is what we call genius, personal talent. The learned critic lays his siege to attack it like an engineer. He trenches it about and hems it into a corner, under colour of surrounding it with all the outward conditions that are necessary to it. And these conditions really do serve personal originality; they incite it, they tempt it forth, they place it in a position to act and react, more or less; but they do not make it. This particle which Horace entitles divine (*divinæ particulam auroæ*), and which, in the primitive, natural sense of the term, really is such, has never yet surrendered to science, and abides unexplained. That is no reason for science to throw down her weapons and renounce her daring enterprise. The siege of Troy lasted ten years; and there are problems which perhaps may last as long as human life itself.' ('Nouveaux Lundis,' May 30, 1864.)

It is true that Taine often escapes the weakness of his theory. In his last section he turns to portraiture and pierces with justice, even with sympathy, into the spirit of Dickens and Carlyle; the flashes of truth which animate his earlier volumes redouble here. Yet throughout he cast new light upon the English nature. He began with a notion, partly true, that our race is barbaric, and ebullient, and heedless of form, and alien to art; and, slurring the rest, he chose the writers who seemed to answer to this notion. His fault, serious in a man of science, was ignorance of our literature as a whole; indeed he wrote before the modern means of knowledge existed. But he tried his utmost to shake our superstitions about ourselves and our superstitions about Shakespeare and Milton. He wished to eradicate our private belief that our great authors are in some way types from which all others are aberrations. That service for us Taine would have accomplished, were it possible. Were he writing now, he would have a large new laboratory and store of facts, and might have deepened and cleared his theory of the 'milieu' by discarding the accidents of dress or custom of which literature is the record, not the product, and by introducing into it the forces of mind and spirit, often of distant origin, which have been enumerated.

The later nineteenth century will be remembered, not so much for any young creative power, as for the application of method and the allotment of labour to the study of all history. The roots of this movement go far back in the record of classical scholarship, which long remained the type of minute and rigid inquiry, and passed its conceptions on to the historian. Probably Bayle's 'Dictionary' is the chief landmark here; biography and exegesis, whether secular or otherwise, could never be quite uncritical after that. But the transference of method to the treatment of the modern literatures is a much later step. It could only be taken when the conviction, long hindered by the Renaissance, was once assured, that the modern as much as the classic masters claim the rigour of the historian and scholar. After the work of Hallam, and still more of Sainte-Beuve, this was more clearly seen; the question was how to apply it in practice. No man's own talent or pains can suffice; there must be the co-operation of workers. And this can be produced only by schools of learning, which, though they can at most permit genius, and often only annoy it, can at least break-in talent. These schools are most naturally formed in universities, which can train an army of students in method during pupillage and save them from the painful and wasteful forms of self-education. The fabric of historical knowledge, whether literary or political, can only be the work of such an army. At this point we see the value of the system of monographs that rules in Germany and in some other countries, including America. The monograph submitted for graduation teaches a little method, and may build up knowledge, though it is often, at present, founded on a sorry general culture, is full of rubbish and repetition, and should in most cases not be printed, as in Germany it has to be. But the system is the foundation of national scholarship. For instance, Italian literary history has been revolutionised since the days of its *doyen*, Tiraboschi. It has of late been portioned out amongst a 'society of professors,' each of whom writes on a single epoch. Their work is a great and well-shapen monument, of which every stone is a monograph, edition, collation, biography, or study of sources. The 'Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature françaises,' guided by M. Petit de Julleville, is another large and generous venture where the labour is

more divided, so that the variety of talent is greater and the total impression of unity is less.

In France and Italy, in Germany and the States, the international side of literature is studied to an extent that England does not realise or imitate. A recent bibliography, '*La Littérature comparée*,' by M. Louis P. Betz, contains some three thousand titles of articles and monographs on the relationships between France and Germany, France and England, Germany and England, and so forth, in almost every combination. These dissertations turn out to be of three or four types. In one are examined the 'sources' of an artist's themes, or thoughts, or forms—an inquiry that may become bitterly mechanical and ignore the step by which borrowing becomes creation. Another traces the influence of a writer, or of a school of writers, at home and abroad; and this fills an enormous chapter. A third deals with the fortunes of a species of literature, the sonnet or picaresque novel or critical treatise—a process which implies a study of the general history of thought and culture. Fourthly, abutting on folklore, comes the study of a particular story, that of Hamlet or Pyramus, in its birth and growth, as it wanders over the world finding new vigour in every soil, until perhaps in the end it dies to live in a masterpiece. Lastly, the literary contact between two or more lands may be investigated and deduced from a multitude of observations in these four kinds. None of the younger school in France, whose names are too many for mention here, had more historic vision, or wrote what is of more concern to ourselves, than the late M. Joseph Texte. The 'comparative' study of letters—which is only a disciplined effort to carry out the ideal of Goethe—he pursued with somewhat exclusive zeal, but with delicacy of touch, and not at all in the external, indiscriminate style that is the danger of this kind of work. His chief book traces the origins of the international feeling itself. His '*Jean-Jacques Rousseau et les Origines du Cosmopolitisme littéraire*' could not have been written fifty years ago.

Knowledge of this kind, and the study of literary history, are nowhere worse organised than in England. Good work is produced, as will presently be seen; but that is in spite of our having no organisation, and is largely due to the classical basis of our training. We have

no journal of the first rank, of more than the weekly scale, given up to the scientific study of our language and literature; Germany has long had 'Anglia' and 'Englische Studien'; and the 'Zeitschrift der vergleichenden Litteraturgeschichte,' after some vicissitudes, started anew last year with generous ambitions. We have nothing like that valuable annual, the 'Revue d'Histoire littéraire,' which draws on the best talent in France. We have no academic school like that of Columbia University, which issues a series of books—not little theses, but books—on various aspects of Tudor literature. In these works there may be some lack of tint, some oblivion of the truth that criticism is at last a fine art like friendship and requires colour and personality, some symptoms that the scientific training intimidates a little, and teaches self-suppression in the wrong as well as in the right way; but there is clear and strict method, fresh digging, sober statement, and real progress. We may name especially the volumes on Italian Platonism in our Elizabethan verse, by Mr J. Smith Harrison; on the literary critics of our Renaissance, by Mr Spingarn; and on the Elizabethan lyric, by Mr Erskine. A handful of smaller papers comes from the University of Pennsylvania, including a valuable study, by Mr Morris Croll, of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke. What have we in England like this?

If we do not take heed, the great syndicate-history of English literature, which we have delayed to make, and which must be made, will be made in the States, and made, let us add as Britons, less well than we could make it if we tried. On the whole our scholars write better, and seem to keep closer to the work of art they study than the Americans, who are prone to relapse, in protest against the glare of their popular style, into a decent and whity-brown academicism of language. Englishmen usually write better, because, though they have not been taught method, they have been reared on the classics; and, after all, for the student of Milton and Berkeley, Virgil and Plato are a rational schooling, while the waste of youth upon a dissertation concerning the metre of Glapthorne or the debts of Lydgate to Boccaccio is an irrational schooling. We want a blended system if we are to train scholars and historians of modern letters; a foundation in knowledge of the classics, a training in

minute method, and the application of this knowledge, of this training, to the literary historian's task. Men of insuppressible bent have wrought well in spite of the chaos, but have often been coerced, as to the scale of their work, by the market rage for manuals. In books like Dr Herford's 'Age of Wordsworth' and Mr Seccombe's 'Age of Johnson,' there is the knowledge and tact that might shape an ample history.

Also there are larger undertakings of admitted merit, but none of them show the complete organisation of study that is wanted. One of the best is 'Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature,' a familiar work, wholly recast and written by the best British scholars. It is a treasury of extracts, with good biographies and brief bibliographies. Many of the criticisms, signed and unsigned, are excellent, though in the last volume there is some falling-off; and there is an effort to bind the larger periods together by summaries and prefaces. The 'Cyclopædia' is thus, as it professes to be, really half-way towards a history, and it is a pity that the whole step was not taken. Often a chapter consists of a somewhat disorderly list of names, each of them competently handled, but without grouping, perspective, or wide historic views, so that the work remains half shapen.

Another book, in four large volumes, called 'English Literature, an illustrated record,' is a pleasing gallery of title-pages, portraits, and facsimiles, of true educational worth. The iconography is accompanied by extracts, by biographies, and by an historical and critical record; this part of the task being divided between two proved scholars, Dr Garnett and Dr Gosse. Their pages would call for respectful review, but the work hardly comes into our argument. The history has been written independently of the pictures; but these and the lives and quotations have so curtailed the space that, especially in the post-Renaissance period, the authors have too little room for full expression and leisurely development. The large and more philosophic side of literary history, though present at first, becomes less and less visible; and there is no scholarly apparatus or bibliography, which is the backbone of scientific history. Therefore our present text is better served by two other books, Dr Courthope's 'History of English Poetry,' which has reached the death

of Dryden; and Professor Saintsbury's 'Short History of English Literature.'

Mr Courthope approaches our poetry in the temper special to the historian. He considers not so much what is the unique character of each poet, of each masterpiece, or the unique pleasure that either yields, as the large historic forces, often lying outside art altogether, by which poetic art has been shapen. The determining causes of poetry lie partly in politics and society, partly in metaphysical or ethical theory, and partly within art itself. These causes, all together, form the true environment of poetry, the 'milieu,' though the shallower usage of the term by the school of Taine is not in its favour. The 'milieu,' in this larger sense, operates over tracts of space and time; the sway of antique political ideas, of the thoughts of the Church, reaches far both backwards and forwards. We might add that this is also true of the artistic environment, and say truly that the 'milieu' of the 'Ode on a Grecian Urn' is not so much Hampstead as the workshop of the dead Greek designer, or that that of Spenser's 'Hymn to Beauty' is the cell of the old Alexandrian or the later Italian mystic. The original force of Mr Courthope lies in his effort to apply such ideas to the story of English poetry, and may be acknowledged all the more frankly that his execution can often be criticised. He wipes out, at all events, the reproach that no Englishman has essayed a full-length philosophical history of the subject.

In the preface to his first volume, Mr Courthope discriminates his method alike from that of Warton, who did not think about currents and forces, and from a later one, of which he seems to imply that Mr Pater was a practitioner, and which seeks 'to interpret the phenomena of the remote past by mere personal sympathy.' Here a protest is required. Mr Pater did not choose the form of a history, but he gave himself a hard historic schooling, and he is more at home in the deeper streams of old poetic sentiment, and in the actual recesses of the Renaissance intellect, than his critic. He rather read his own experience and problems in the light of history than read them into history. In the power to recapture and express the fugitive essence of a dead author Mr Courthope is somewhat wanting, while Mr Pater had more of

that power than any of our writers since Coleridge. It is a happier task to speak of the value and freshness of what Mr Courthope has achieved.

He begins very far back. We are not complaining that his picture of the Empire and the Papacy, and of mediæval polity, is a portico to a history rather of all literature, or of all culture, than of English poetry. By English poetry is meant 'metrical compositions written in our language from the period at which it becomes fairly intelligible to readers of the present day'; that is, from about the fourteenth century onwards. On this showing we regret that the somewhat inappreciative chapter on Old English poetry was inserted. It is true that the thread of artistic continuity between Old and Middle English verse becomes very slender, and that the true formative influences on the latter came from Latin, from the South, from romance and satire. Yet it would have been accurate to dwell more clearly on the iron link forged by the Latin, as the medium of thought and devotion and hymnody, and of some secular things as well, between Old and Middle English sentiment. And the alliterative romances of Chaucer's time might have been better recognised; for the 'Troy-Book' and the long 'Morte Arthure' both fall within the definition above given of English poetry; they contain stately matter, and they are of note in history, since their form links two ages of our verse together, while their matter links England with Europe. Mr Courthope, however, not professing an exhaustive chronicle, leaves himself free to choose whatever illuminates his thesis. So long as he does not leave out too much good literature, there can be no demur. Wider natural sympathy might have saved him from comparing Boccaccio, in whom there is a noble quality, with Milton's Belial, and from lecturing Chaucer, whose homelier tales are as fresh as ever, for 'illegitimate coarseness and materialism.'

When Mr Courthope quits his relative and historic standpoint, it is often not to appreciate but to moralise. But an admirable fruit of his method is found in his chapter on 'The Early Renaissance.' There he traces some of the sentiments that in the fourteenth century began to be transmitted from the ancient to the modern world, not only by Petrarch, whose work, as a torch-

bearer, is well understood, but, as is less often perceived, by Dante, whose conception of civic duty and nobility is by no means strictly mediæval, resting on 'the antique image of Roman citizenship.' The very useful essay on 'Chaucer and Petrarch,' in the 'Studi Petrarcheschi' of Signor Carlo Segrè, has come out much more recently than Mr Courthope's chapter. The account of the 'Romance of the Rose,' of its influence, and of the course of allegory at the close of the Middle Ages, shows Mr Courthope's hold on those remote causes and subtle uniformities without which our poetry is unintelligible. We must abridge his page on the subject.

'Allegory' (he tells us), 'as it was understood and used by Dante, the accepted method of interpreting nature and Scripture, derived from the Platonised theology of the fifth and sixth centuries, and methodised in the system of the schoolmen, first becomes a mechanical part of poetry, and then slowly falls into disuse, in proportion as the scholastic logic itself gives way before the new experimental tests applied to the interpretation of nature. Allegory, again, regarded as a literary form of expression, has its original source in the genius for abstraction peculiar to the Latin language, which encouraged the use of the figure of personification in poetry. In this sphere it enjoyed a longer life than in philosophy. . . . Lastly, the habit, common to the mediæval poets, of inventing allegories, in which all these abstract personages should be grouped round the central figure of Love, had, doubtless, its far-off origin in the metaphysical conception of Eros pervading the Platonic philosophy. . . . A stream of kindred sentiment . . . coloured the whole code of chivalrous manners; and, from the new impulse thus given to the ancient Teutonic reverence for women, the troubadours, by the aid of Ovid and of models borrowed from the Arabs, developed the elaborate system of Provençal love poetry. The lyrical fervour of the Provençals, in the cooling atmosphere of the times, gradually became in its turn conventional and didactic; and the long series of allegories following the "Romance of the Rose" is mainly interesting as marking the fall of temperature in the institutions of chivalry' (vol. i, pp. 391, 392).

Such a passage, with its wide sweep of learned vision, shows the author at his very best; we thus win an observatory for the whole range of fifteenth century poetry in Scotland, and for much in sixteenth century England. The true method of history is here applied to

the life-chronicle of a literary form; it has not been done before, or not so well, in our language; and an example is supplied from which Mr Courthope's successors have no excuse for relapsing. We pass over the chapter on the ballads, which needs revising in the light of arguments advanced recently by Mr Gregory Smith, Mr Lang, and others. The 'Retrospect,' at the end of the first volume, which brings the whole story down to the verge of the English Renaissance, is all of fine quality, and contains one of the significant thoughts that help to sustain us amid the apparent welter of late mediæval verse.

'In each class, epic, lyric, and dramatic, we see a movement away from the original didactic purpose of poetry, either towards the direct imitation of nature, or towards the mere technical development of art' (p. 471). . . . 'But while the principal forms of modern poetry have their origin in the ecclesiastical and feudal character of the Middle Ages, they are gradually modified by the whole movement of society towards a civil standard of life and thought' (p. 478).

This conception, of which we have not given Mr Courthope's full elucidation, forms one of the texts of his succeeding volumes. Poetry was coloured by the successive polities under which it flourished, and varied according as these were mainly ecclesiastical and monarchical, or civic and secular. It also varied with its public, which is the most powerful and often the most destructive part of the artist's contemporary environment. In particular, the form and soul of our drama were infinitely altered according as this public was predominantly the people or the Court. In his sketch of the setting and drift of early Tudor poetry Mr Courthope suffers somewhat in proportion. He is debarred from bringing in English prose, save on sufferance, yet he gives a long and pointed account of the masterpieces of Machiavelli, Castiglione, and others, in order to picture types of the Renaissance mind. A valuable scrutiny of the technique of Wyatt and Surrey is followed by a still longer survey, which, even from a historic point of view, need not have been so full, of the dreary Turberville and Churchyard, who, despite some formal interest, clear the weeds very little for the genius of Spenser and Sidney. But the powers of Mr Courthope can best be

judged as we approach the poetry of genius, in its two great species, as they pass before us from Spenser to Milton, and from Marlowe to Ford.

The weak side of a studious, ambitious essay seeking to *explain* poetry is that, while really doing much, it always has the air of seeming to do more than is possible. The book before us is less a history of poetry than a history of certain impersonal forces which from age to age tended to prescribe its form and aim, to beleaguer it about. They play upon each artist in diverse proportion, fitfully, and with no steady pressure. But there are other forces that lie beyond analysis, namely, those which move the artist; how he shall *choose* among these floating tendencies in the mind of his time, how he shall combine or alter them, what he shall make of them. Tendencies have no real existence—unless it be for the historian long afterwards—except in the shapes in which the individual mind chooses to submit to them. We only know them through the concrete manifestations from which we then generalise. The mind is not a cauldron in which certain ingredients simmer mechanically, so that a certain result can be expected: a charm is said over them which happily prevents any such thing. Thus an analyst of tendencies, when he comes to the actual master, the actual poem, can only make his diagnosis sound up to the last step but one, unless he also has a measure of the divining sympathy, which is a kind of feminine counterpart of the artist's own creative force.

Hence a writer like Mr Courthope, in dealing with significant secondary figures like Massinger or Drummond, is better than when dealing with larger men; for his analysis carries him up to the very verge of their comparatively narrow ring of personality, and they can be stated in terms of historic tendencies. But the great initiators—Marlowe, Shakespeare, Donne—though from one point of view they absorb and express larger elements of historic growth than the others, are not only harder to diagnose from such considerations, because the forces are more intricate, but actually refuse to be stated in such terms, ultimately, at all. Marlowe is seen in clearer light, certainly, as the embodiment of a ruling mood of the Renaissance, the worship of energy, *virtù*, or, as Mr Courthope calls it, 'will-worship'; but his real

characteristic lies in the form, the voice, he gives to that impulse. And this form and voice are found in the depths of his profoundly original style, his turn of phrase, his peculiar turn of passion. No amount of history can give an account of this; nothing, indeed, can ever express it fully; but the nearest approaches can be made by a fellow-poet, like Mr Swinburne, when writing new poetry, or criticism, which is poetry in all but metre, upon him.

Mr Courthope's scope and restrictions are well seen in the case of Donne, on whom he throws new and true light—the search-light of history, which has never been turned on Donne so clearly before. It is curious with how little sympathy it is done, and how instructive it is nevertheless; for Mr Courthope's analysis of the historic setting is not in the least brain-spun or capricious; it is solidly based, and is charged with learning. Donne is taken out of the region of mere anomaly and miracle in which he is too often left by the critics. In him we trace (the phrasing is our own, as the passages are too long for extract) the habit of the school-divine, logical and dividing, a habit applied equally to the sacred matters of faith and fear, and to the profaner matters of love and lust; the two worlds, sacred and profane, being joined and confounded at every turn by this pervading temper that is applied to them. The course of Donne's thought is traced, perhaps more positively than the vague dates of his poems warrant, through the successive phases of belief, of pyrrhonism or nihilism, and of faith again triumphant; the whole man, in these different phases, being bound together by the intellectual habit, carefully defined, of 'wit.' Thus Donne is a sensitive mirror of many impulses of his time. He remains a living exponent of what we may call—and Mr Courthope might perhaps accept the phrase—the temporary Counter-Renaissance, or re-emergence of mediæval habits of mind after the glow of the Renaissance was spent. All this is admirable; but there is something more, and a passage that we shall quote later from a very different critic, Mr Saintsbury, will supply what is wanting—the suggestion of the inner personality of Donne. Flaubert, in his words on Taine, put the point very clearly:—

'Il y a autre chose dans l'art que le milieu où il s'exerce et les antécédents physiologiques de l'ouvrier. Avec ce système-

là, on explique la série, le groupe, mais jamais l'individualité, le fait spécial qui fait qu'on est *celui-là*. Cette méthode amène forcément à ne faire aucun cas de talent. Le chef-d'œuvre n'a plus de signification que comme document historique. Voilà radicalement l'inverse de la vieille critique de La Harpe. Autrefois, on croyait que la littérature était une chose toute personnelle et que les œuvres tombaient du ciel comme des aérolithes. Maintenant on nie toute volonté, tout absolu. La vérité est, je crois, dans l'entre-deux.' (Correspondance, iii, 196.)

We would not saddle Mr Courthope, whose 'system' is much sounder than that which Flaubert criticises, with the whole of the rebuke which he often escapes when he permits himself to give a direct judgment. His words on Herrick make us ask for more of the same kind. He comments on 'The Funeral Rites of the Rose':—

'This exquisiteness of fancy, working on a great variety of subjects—flowers, precious stones, woman's dress, religious ritual, and the like—finds its happiest field in the region of folklore. Shakspeare had already shown the way to that delightful country in the "Tempest," in the "Midsummer Night's Dream," and "Romeo and Juliet." . . . But it may be safely said that none of these creations, not even Shakspeare's description of Queen Mab, surpasses in lightness of touch, or equals in the rich profusion of imagery, Herrick's Euphuistic treatment of the elves' (iii, 263).

The whole of Mr Courthope's survey of seventeenth century verse, of what we have called the Counter-Renaissance, and of the re-assertion of the Latin Renaissance in a fresh and more limited shape during Dryden's time, has the virtues and drawbacks that we have intimated. His classification of the labyrinthine schools of verse under various forms of 'wit,' and his characteristically true and deep analysis of wit itself, call for much gratitude. His summing-up of the influences that went to the making of Milton's 'Paradise Lost,' and of the equally complex style which could be its only fit expression, is a triumph of his method, of his skill in bringing many historic rays to converge upon one object. On the other hand, his apprehension of many lesser poets remains a little blank; his connoisseurship, or sense of varieties in accent and gesture, is faint. It is best to illustrate from his chapters on the drama, on which he

has spent great care, and which are almost as instructive for what they leave out as for what they say.

Mr Courthope's high sympathies deaden, it must be said, his understanding of the drama of remote or anomalous passion, however wonderful its style may be. He is capable of quoting the best passages of Cyril Tourneur, with their sombre strangeness of jewelled phrase, at Tourneur's expense. He can slight the fitful but lofty tragic talent of Middleton without even mentioning the central scenes of 'The Changeling,' which would have done honour to the author of 'Measure for Measure.' He administers an official rebuke to Charles Lamb, while commending him in general, for his 'ecstatic' praises of the minor dramatists, on the ground that it raises in the mind 'an idea of the colossal greatness of all the Elizabethan dramatists, which is by no means sustained when their works are examined organically.' Not only is this to visit the mistakes of foolish readers upon Lamb, whose praises are far more carefully defined and qualified than at first appears; it is also to forget how Lamb was moved to his eloquence by that inebriation with language, and with a passionate situation well presented, from which Mr Courthope may be a professed abstainer, but which none the less is the nearest way to reproduce the exalted moods of the playwrights themselves in their creative hour. It is not unfair, and even refreshing, for the historian to call Marston's 'Antonio and Mellida' a 'jumbled hash of bloody recollections'; but this does not invalidate the strict rightness of Lamb's praise of the prologue to the same play, with its 'passionate earnestness and tragic note of preparation.'

It is right to add that Mr Courthope's want of sympathy is partly due to a motive that is really and purely artistic, and not merely to a certain ethical rigidity. Trained in the classics, he has a real, a sound, and often an offended sense of dramatic structure. Our drama suffers under the application of this test; but suffer it must, and the test is applied with courage. Logic, outline, harmony, consequence—our plays, so often written to be seen and heard, and written under stress, usually fail in these qualities; Shakespeare himself at times fails in them. In English criticism the sense of form and beauty is too often limited to style and expression, and

too seldom extends to outline and harmony. Mr Courthope is always calling aloud for plastic mastery in our drama, and he calls in vain.

Some of Mr Courthope's conclusions upon matters of fact and authorship, especially in the case of Shakespeare, are sure to excite discussion. He has the right to his own plan, which is not to load his page with titles, learned apparatus, or discussion of the views of other scholars. But it is not always easy to see how far he has studied, and how far rejected, their views. He names Elze and Ulrici, whose simple-minded moralising of Shakespeare has long been exploded, but he seems to make no use of the contributions of Kreyssig, or Bulthaupt, or Brandes, all of whom would have given him aid. In exegesis he seems to work alone, and to infer easily. He holds that Shakespeare wrote 'The Troublesome Reign of King John,' and 'The Taming of a Shrew' (as well as 'The Taming of the Shrew'); that 'The Tempest,' at all events in its first conception, is a play of the period of the 'Dream,' and is identical with 'Love's Labour Won,' mentioned by Meres; and that he may dismiss 'Henry VIII' as too 'mechanical' to be considered in a history of Shakespeare's art, saying nothing about the deeply-considered view of many scholars, that part of it is by Fletcher. Reasons of style and diction, which have to be weighed in advancing a new claimant for admission to the Shakespearean canon, do not seem to have been considered in the case of the 'Troublesome Reign' and 'A Shrew'; and the other pleas advanced for them, though too elaborate to be discussed here, hardly carry so great a conclusion. The dislocation of 'The Tempest' from its accepted place not only misinterprets the evidence of language, versification, temper, and subject, but rests upon the frail support of the prologue to 'Every Man in his Humour' (1598), in which he refers to storms, stage thunder, and the popularity of 'monsters.' But this prologue, although some argue for its early composition, was first printed in the folio issued by Jonson in 1616. Even were it early, the allusion to monsters is not strong enough to warrant an application to Caliban; and a stage tempest was familiar already in Marlowe.

In judging the drama Mr Courthope steadily applies three principles, which are just and carry him far. He

is on the watch for structure and its absence; he constantly applies the touchstone of a high chivalrous feeling; and thirdly, in tracing the historic pattern, he finds its main theme in the spiritual or moral conceptions that animated the successive schools of playwrights. He has little sympathy with the Marlowesque drama, or seems to admire it unwillingly; but he is right in regarding it, with its concentration on *virtù* or personal energy desirous and defiant, as a kind of by-product, not really in the main line of dramatic development. And he shows, more clearly than other critics, and even with too much emphasis, how the motive of the old 'Morality,' namely, the abstract conflict between personifications of good and evil, strikes deep and far into the drama of Jonson, of Massinger, and to some extent of Shakespeare. Mr Courthope's incessant and wavering use of the word 'abstract,' which sometimes means 'remote from life and reality,' and elsewhere suggests moral personifications of virtue and vice, may not be approved. Nevertheless, in spite of the elements from Stoical ethics, which came in to strengthen and ennoble the bare forms of the 'Morality,' it is true that there is in the drama a real continuity of moral topic, appearing under many disguises; so that Massinger, of whom Mr Courthope gives a masterly account, derives by true pedigree, though perhaps not consciously, from the ruder but eminently theatrical forms of art represented in 'Everyman.' To unravel this one thread out of the motley strand of artistic influences that bewilder the student of the drama is a service. The remarks on the nature of melodrama (iv, 233); on the different notions of love in Shakespeare and in Fletcher (iv, 332); on the 'atmosphere of humanity and society' in Shakespeare's comedies (iv, 187); on Ford, whose 'lack of sympathy' in dealing with abnormal passion and 'abstract curiosity' are pointed out with much insight; and the account of Dryden's 'All for Love' as a Gallicised 'Antony and Cleopatra,' exemplify Mr Courthope's felicity on his own ground. After our many criticisms we prefer to end with another profound piece of analysis, in which the extinction of the chivalrous idea of love is discovered in the work of Dryden.

'Love in the poetry of the Middle Ages reveals itself in two aspects; it is either a platonised reflection of the old

Teutonic reverence for women, or it is a school of knightly manners, where the castled aristocracy may cultivate a peculiar system of sentiment and language, distinguishing their order from the plebeian world around them. Dante's Beatrice and Spenser's Una are the representatives of one class; Guillaume de Lorris' new version of the art of love, in "The Romance of the Rose," is the type of the other. The former conception breathes its spirituality into the beautiful characters of Shakspeare's women, making the unselfishness of Viola, the patience of Imogen, and the purity of Isabella, at once ideal and credible. The latter inspires the elaborate code framed by the female canonists and casuists of the "Cours d'Amour," which, embodied first of all in the treatise of André le Chapelain, "De Amore," and adapted to the manners of a later time by Castiglione in his "Cortigiano," formed the basis of social etiquette in every court of Europe, and was reflected with all the hectic colouring of decline in the comedy of Fletcher' (iv, 452).

Mr Courthope's 'History' is thus an experiment of high worth in the philosophical chronicle of literature, revealing as it does the play of many forces, partly ancestral, partly international, partly both, upon literary art.

Mr Saintsbury's 'Short History of English Literature' does not show these preoccupations at all strongly, though the author is learned in the writings of many lands. He loses something by this omission; he loses possibly more by a certain exclusion from his view of the intellectual stuff of literature. But he holds finely and firmly to the yet more important, or equally important, clue that writing is an art, and that structure and style are forms of beauty which it is, after all, the main affair of the critic to detect and love. Within the limits of the nation, or with only casual references to foreign influence, he has applied the same canon of design and proportion to his own History, laying out in a single volume, which has only been as yet half appreciated, the natural epochs, groups, and outlines, in just perspective. Some drawbacks, it is true, cannot be ignored. There is a touch or two of political or ecclesiastical predilection. We read that 'Hooker's work utterly ruined, from the logical and historical side, the position of the English Puritans'—a very doubtful statement, and one that might have been spared in a work where the artistic standpoint is almost

always maintained with dignity. Some caprice is shown in the recognition of philological inquiry and its results, which do not profess to do the work of the æsthetic critic, but are there to be used by him. It really does matter to criticism how we sort the poems of the Cynewulfian and Caedmonian schools, and only the linguists can give us the data; but in the 'Short History' the subject is treated with some impatience. It is not unfair to point, lastly, to some degree of hasty or parenthetical writing, or lack of finish, which is less than just to the author's literary gift.

Yet Mr Saintsbury has written by far the most catholic record of our literature. He has a steady will to enjoy all that is good of whatever kind, and to find words for the reason why he does so—a simple creed, and 'pleasant when one considers it,' but rare among critics, who are for ever led off either by the British bane of blind whim or by the other mania of vaporous theorising. Such an open temper—which is the boon of nature nurtured by schooling—ready to perceive the goodness or badness of the handiwork, and the peculiar virtue of the form chosen by each artist, is uncommon. It is present in the 'Short History,' as is the power of orderly grouping, by which the vague bibliography, that often does duty in England for a history of letters, falls into an intelligible pattern. It is something to cover the country from Widsith to Tennyson, and from Alfred to Carlyle, in such a spirit. Lightness and cheeriness of step are wanted to carry the pilgrim all that way, and are not absent in Mr Saintsbury.

We do not care to compare him with the other scholar we have reviewed here, save to say that their gifts curiously supplement one another. Like all good travellers, however, Mr Saintsbury has two distinct moods of admiration. There is the general mood of readiness to grant admiration to whatever is fair, or even is strangely expressive, whether it be in Hobbes or Newman or Shelley or Drunken Barnabee; so obeying the commandment of Plato to 'rejoice wherein we ought to rejoice.' But sometimes the pilgrim is quickened to a different mood altogether, and then his criticism is of the kind which tells us most about both parties to it, though it irritates pedants because it does not pretend to be like a judge's charge. That man is to be pitied who does not get more out of Lamb's sentence that Heywood is a 'kind of

prose Shakspeare,' than out of the meditation that it is decidedly partial. In any case we feel it quickly when, amid the more level and restrained survey proper to a long history, a critic with ample learning and clear canons lifts up his voice. There are authors we chance on, and find they were always ours; and we resent that an opinion should be ventured on them by others. Their voice calls up the echoes of our private whispering-gallery. They may not be the greatest of men. But the involuntary eloquence they communicate remains with our hearers longer than the tempered findings of the historic intellect. It is this kind of note the want of which banishes much of the commentary of our time into the useful field of science. Donne, we have seen, is a difficult poet to divine. Mr Saintsbury, observing that the word 'metaphysical' is strictly appropriate to him, adds:—

'For, behind every image, every ostensible thought of his, there are vistas and backgrounds of other thoughts dimly vanishing, with glimmers in them here and there into the depths of the final enigmas of life and soul. Passion and meditation, the two avenues into this region of doubt and dread, are tried by Donne in the two sections respectively, and of each he has the key. Nor, as he walks in them with eager or solemn tread, are light and music wanting, the light the most unearthly that ever played round a poet's head, the music not the least heavenly that he ever caught and transmitted to his readers.

Such enthusiasm is in place. Who would not wish to be able to speak of his elect authors thus well? Without some such interludes the mapping of international currents and the watching of impersonal forces become a vain thing. The 'Short History' is therefore to be recognised for its qualities of completeness within its own scale, clear historic grouping, avoidance of crowding, catholic connoisseurship, and the timely betrayal of preferences. Such books minister in their own way, really rather than ostensibly, to that federal ideal of literature which cannot be too often enunciated.

OLIVER ELTON.

Art. II.—GIOTTO AND EARLY ITALIAN ART.

A History of Painting in Italy. By J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle. New edition in six volumes. Edited by Langton Douglas, assisted by S. Arthur Strong. Vols i and ii. London: Murray, 1903.

It would be hard to devise better words of welcome for this great work as now reissued by Mr Murray than those with which Mr Douglas speeds it in an opening sentence of his preface.

'Notwithstanding,' he says, 'all that has been done in the last forty years by archivists on the one hand, and by connoisseurs on the other, with the object of elucidating the history of the central Italian schools, this book still remains the standard authority upon the subject. Of genuine additions to knowledge,' Mr Douglas proceeds, 'of scientifically verifiable facts, accepted as such by all serious and intelligent students, how little has been added to that particular fabric of human learning which owed so much to Crowe and Cavalcaselle! Much that passed for knowledge a decade ago has been proved to be unfounded theory; and, were it not unwise to prophesy, we would venture to predict that, in the coming decade, the field of art criticism will be strewn with the wreckage of many other pretentious but cheaply built structures.'

It is probable, indeed, that there is no domain in which greater difficulty attaches to the differentiation of theory from fact, in which the subjective and objective are harder to distinguish, even for those most desirous of distinguishing them, than that which presents itself to the critic of early art. But art criticism is valueless unless its methods are scientific; and the very difficulty of achieving such a result renders the attempt more obligatory. Mr Douglas does well to emphasise so important a truth; and if he seems a little eager to anticipate the havoc which better methods may produce, it will appear that he is specially entitled to make the prediction.

Naturally, in the review of a book with the bulk of which the public has been long familiar, it is the element of novelty which claims closest attention; and such novelty, without a doubt, appears most obviously in the

share of the editor. It will not be unreasonable, therefore, to give his work the first consideration.

It is easy to perceive that the work of editing a manuscript which has not received the final revision of its authors involves exceptional difficulties. Any reader who does not shrink from the labour of collating the second edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's great work with the first may soon convince himself of the severity of the problems with which its editor has had to contend. Thus at the bottom of the sixth page occurs the peculiar statement that 'the face of Christ,' in one of the rude paintings of the Catacomb of St Callixtus, 'expresses some* of the feeling which so nobly characterises effigies of this kind in the fourteenth century.' Can Sir Joseph Crowe have affirmed here the very parallel which, in the first edition, he went out of his way to deny? Such a conclusion will hardly be justified by an attentive perusal of the passage in which the statement occurs. The general verdict is so clearly the same as that given in the first edition that the editor would perhaps have been within his rights in correcting 'some' to 'none.'

An instance of still greater importance occurs on page 133 of the same volume. Sir Joseph Crowe suggests that Giovanni Pisano, 'before he went south, probably carved the celebrated group above the frieze of the eastern gate of the Campo Santo.' The editor points out that, like Morrona and Rosini before him, he has confused two entirely different works; that the Madonna and Saints of the Campo Santo is of a quite inferior order; and that the group by Giovanni is in reality 'above the frieze of the eastern portal of the Baptistery.' Here again a reference to the first edition (page 143) seems to show that the author's error amounted to nothing more than a slip of the pen. 'The old frieze of Bonamicius' he says 'on the eastern gate of the Baptistery was crowned by a standing figure of the Virgin and Child between two Saints,' and he proceeds to call attention in a note, first, to the inscription, which shows the work to be Giovanni's (quoted also in the second edition), and next, to the error of certain

* 'Not a trace,' in the first edition.

commentators (presumably Morrona and Rosini) who confused it with a different work on the Duomo.

Revelations of this kind are inevitably disconcerting, and create an unpleasant sense of insecurity with regard to the text as a whole. There can be little doubt that Sir Joseph Crowe intended the second edition of the History to supersede the first; but it is fair to question whether, in the first two volumes as at present published, that result has been attained.

Yet this is by no means the only question which the new issue will provoke. Sir Joseph Crowe, the editor informs us, was engaged until the year of his death in preparing the new edition of the History. It was only in 1896 that the author's death occurred. This is but a short time ago; and the interval seems of small account when compared with the forty years which have elapsed since the appearance of the first edition. Nevertheless, even in this short time, critic and archivist have been busy, and here and there, by dint of strenuous gleaning, have added a grain to the store of true knowledge. In this connexion again a task of the utmost delicacy presented itself to the editor. Except where documentary evidence of a decisive kind is brought to light, it must always be a nice question what degree of concurrence among living authorities is required for the transformation of a novel theory into accepted fact. Mr Douglas, in the passage already quoted from his preface, shows a complete recognition of this initial difficulty. The high reputation which Crowe and Cavalcaselle's History, in its original form, acquired, the added weight which must attach to their opinions as now reissued after long and mature reflection, give their work the strongest claim to consideration and respect. It would obviously be wanting in taste to allow theories which were mere theories to be appended to their text, or, in a work which will necessarily be of unique value to serious students of every nationality, to admit dissenting opinions which were unsusceptible of proof. The editor would naturally desire that his work should contain a summary of the latest results of research; he would of course feel it to be a misfortune if imperfect theories were disseminated under cover of the authors' reputation.

Opinions will no doubt differ as to the degree in which

the editor succeeds in keeping the suggested ideal in view. A typical instance of his method occurs in connexion with the important problem of the chronology of Giotto's early works. The subject is so interesting that it deserves to be treated in some detail; and we can hardly approach it better than by briefly reminding the reader of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's own account. The greatest care has been expended by Sir Joseph upon his revision of Giotto's life, but he has not found occasion to modify the main outline as he originally determined it. One change only is introduced, the date of Giotto's birth being now given as 1267 instead of 1276; his works follow the same order as before. The first are those of the Upper Church of Assisi, executed while Giotto was still young; later, in his manhood, he was called again to Assisi by Fra Giovanni di Muro, to paint the ceilings of the Lower Church. Without asserting it as a fact, the authors leave us no option but to believe that this call took place in 1296, as the artist, after painting the Allegories, and possibly also the scenes from the life of Christ, proceeded to Rome before the end of that year. He stayed at Rome six years—the inside of six years, clearly—executing the *navicella*, the *ciborium*, and other works that have perished; and he went to Florence not later than April 1302, where he painted the chapel of the Podestà. His next known work is the Arena Chapel, executed in 1306 at the age of thirty-nine. Considering the monumental character of the achievement, the authors feel that they put no impossible strain upon Benvenuto da Imola's testimony that Giotto, when he painted it, was 'still fairly young.' This chronology is acknowledged by the authors to be tentative, especially so far as the Assisi works are concerned; and it cannot be denied that they take refuge in a certain vagueness of statement.

Yet the complexity of the subject may be easily deduced from the fact that the editor has suggested a new chronology in his notes, involving so revolutionary a conception of the artist as to be totally subversive of all the authors' observations. The editor reserves judgment as to the date of Giotto's birth; but with regard to the order of the early works he is dogmatic and precise. The first were at Rome; they were followed by the frescoes of the Bargello and by the St Francis series

in the Upper Church of Assisi (1302-1306). Next came the Padua period, and after it the Allegories and the Life of Christ of the Lower Church. The inversion is so startling as to be all but incomprehensible, till connected with the new theory proposed by the editor as to Giotto's early training, touching which he again feels himself compelled in his commentary to disregard the statements in the text.

The authors hold that Giotto was, by training as by birth, a Florentine. To them Cimabue—the great Florentine Homer, of whom the modern critic only knows, and is forgetting to respect, the name, but whose reputation was considered by Dante comparable to that of Giotto himself—is an artist with a style they can recognise and trace, foreshadowing already the superlative qualities of the nascent Tuscan school; they can even detect certain peculiarities of style in Giotto's early work, which they regard as the immediate result of his master's influence. The editor believes, on the contrary, that Giotto's training took place in Rome, and that Rome, not Florence, was the centre of the revival of painting in the thirteenth century. He regards Cimabue either as a myth, or else, 'like Giotto, artistically a scion of Rome.' Giotto, as is well known, visited Rome, but he did not (we are told) find assistants there, as has been hitherto supposed; he found a master. 'There is no proof' (says the editor, vol. ii, p. 99) 'that Cavallini ever assisted Giotto at Rome; the probability is that the younger master assisted and was influenced by the older.'

This theory provides us with a key to the new chronology. In the series of frescoes in the Upper Church of Assisi a certain parallelism is to be found with works still to be seen at Rome. It is an obvious explanation of this parallelism to say that the artist who painted at Assisi was a pupil of the Roman school. The problem, however, requires more careful handling. It is true, indeed, that no document can be adduced to prove that Cavallini helped Giotto; equally true, however, that Giotto cannot be proved to have helped Cavallini. Yet certain facts of an important kind are known in regard to the status which Giotto, when he was at Rome, enjoyed. It is known that he designed and executed a mosaic for St Peter's, for which he received the enormous sum of

2200 florins—a mosaic, moreover, which created so great a sensation in the Roman world that its echo survives even to-day, and to which a succession of popes testified their devotion by moving it, restoring it, and mutilating it, till at last it was distinguished by nothing but the great name of the original artist. In discussing the reliefs of the Florentine Campanile, the editor sets aside the tradition that connects them with Giotto as a ‘manifestation of Florentinism,’ and finds it difficult to believe that Giotto, considering his activity as a painter, could have found time to study sculpture; he seems to forget that the Campanile is Giotto’s only known work in architecture, and that the mosaic of the *navicella* is no less unique. Giotto’s one mosaic—in connexion with which, as the editor justly remarks, the name of Cavallini was never breathed even in Rome—acquired a reputation which is probably without parallel in the annals of early art.

But Giotto also executed a *ciborium* for use at the high altar of St Peter’s, and for this he received eight hundred florins of gold. At a later date Orcagna, the chief artist of his time, and the last to combine, like Giotto, excellence in every branch, agreed to give his services to the Orvietans, as architect, sculptor, painter, and mosaicist, for three hundred florins, for the year. Giotto’s work clearly commanded a price which no assistant could have hoped to receive; and the position which that work was to occupy reflected a certain distinction upon the painter. Moreover, the work itself has been preserved, and, though damaged, it has not been repainted. ‘This triptych,’ say our authors, ‘alone proves that Giotto was not only the reformer of the art of painting, but the founder of a school of colour, and that he was as great in altarpieces as in fresco.’ It was some time after the execution of this masterpiece, designed in the purest Gothic, that Giotto, according to the editor, strongly influenced by the Romans, particularly in his ideas of architecture, went to Assisi, and there commenced a series which, in composition, draughtsmanship, and technical method, was throughout experimental; in which the artist seemed ill at ease and continually changed his scale; and the general decorative impression of which remains unharmonious and bizarre.

That Giotto, while at Rome, was extensively engaged

upon fresco work for St Peter's is a point on which it is needless to insist. The developed powers of design which he displays in the *ciborium* are sufficient to prove that his experimental days were over. Moreover, the editor must have forgotten that, according to his own chronology, there is an interval between Giotto's work in Rome and in Assisi, and that in this interval the artist was occupied with the famous frescoes in the chapel of the Podestà. We have the right to expect a strong manifestation of Roman influence in this Bargello work, but nothing of the kind has as yet been detected there. Every reader will remember that the Bargello frescoes are a subject of keen controversy, and that many connoisseurs believe them to have been executed in 1337 by one of Giotto's pupils. This fact would seem in itself a conclusive evidence of their purely Florentine character; nor can this purity of origin be doubted for a moment by any one who has examined them or given but a cursory glance to the lovely relics of the great fresco of the Paradise. The simple rows of its standing figures, rank after rank, the natural severity of the falling lines of drapery—as near as nature to monotony, and as free from it—the intensity of calm devotion which pervades the whole, testify to an artist whose style is his own, who knows the effect he wishes to produce and the means by which he can produce it.

A further difficulty of a serious kind connects itself with the new date suggested by the editor for the famous allegorical series of the Lower Church at Assisi. It was recognised by the authors that, in the absence of external evidence, Giotto's works could only be classed reasonably by adhering to the general law of progress in style. It was this consideration—so, in the first edition, they openly state—which led them to place the Allegories immediately before the Roman altarpiece. The editor, it will be remembered, regards the Allegories as a later work than the Arena Chapel. Nevertheless, he considers that the allegorical series at Padua stand on a higher plane. Whereas, in the Allegories at Assisi, the symbolism is crudely, obviously, even vulgarly, expressed, the figure of Injustice at Padua is 'symbolically as well as artistically one of the most remarkable achievements of its kind that the world has seen.' 'As a master of alle-

gorical composition,' the editor explains, 'Giotto was very fitful' (ii, 115).

In finally estimating the editor's contribution to the history of the subject, we are compelled to admit that his taste is by no means faultless, and that he has failed to show a due sense of the dignity of his position. The inclusion of a theory in his notes is no guarantee that he has examined it critically; and he is not content merely to state what he believes. Far from feeling that divergence of opinion between himself and the authors is at best a misfortune which nothing but the claims of truth must lead him to disclose, he is careful to emphasise divergence wherever it occurs, and to question the value of the authors' observations where they lead to conclusions other than his own. If this method was dictated by the belief that his authority carries equal weight with that of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, it is our duty to state definitely that such a belief is groundless. Moreover, his writing is often lacking both in dignity and in reserve, and it is not always impartial. He thinks it necessary to remark that the authors 'never allowed their æsthetic judgment to be warped by personal or pecuniary considerations'; that 'neither of them belonged to that parasitic cosmopolitan class from which the writers of little art-books are frequently drawn'; that Cavalcaselle was 'neither a place-hunter nor a picture-dealer in masquerade.' Had the remotest suspicion existed that these things were true, it might be possible to understand the value of the editor's denials. Whether his own æsthetic judgment is in the same degree unwarped, it is only fair to question. Throughout these two first volumes we search in vain for mention of one of our most distinguished connoisseurs; we find an attribution, of which the merit is his, referred to another writer, who was careful to preface the series of articles in which he made use of it by the statement that the theories he promulgated were not necessarily original. The error must be as disconcerting to Mr Fry as it is discourteous to Mr Berenson.

At this point it will be well to leave the work of the editor and devote an undivided attention to that of Sir Joseph Crowe himself. Here, as already suggested, the reader needs to exercise a certain leniency, for

nothing is more obvious than that the author was prevented from giving it his final revision. This appears unmistakably from the number of ungrammatical sentences which are to be found in the text. Unimportant in itself, the presence of such sentences does much to disarm criticism. It is impossible to say what the author might not have changed if he had had a full opportunity of revising what he wrote. But, in spite of this disadvantage, there can be no question as to the great increase of value in the text as he has now presented it. To begin with the more superficial consideration, it will be noted that a certain exuberance of style—the quality of which was peculiar to the early Victorian period of our literature, and which was more than usually prominent in the first edition of the book—has been successfully curtailed in the second edition. ‘On the whole, however, he [Gaddi] was inferior to Orcagna; and the unity of talent which characterised the son of Cione was not conspicuous in the last scion of the Gaddi.’ So wrote Sir Joseph Crowe in 1864. In the new edition he has substituted: ‘On the whole, however, Agnolo Gaddi must be allowed to rank as a painter below Orcagna, who shows more unity of power and more depth of intellect than any of his contemporaries.’

The change here introduced is typical. Nor is it only in the style that evidences of increased control and abler handling may be found. Already, in the first edition, the authors displayed, in the treatment of earlier authorities and of the various sources from which they drew, a reticence and discrimination which gave peculiar value to their work. A balanced judgment, rarely losing sight of the scope and purpose of the history, directed the choice of references and quotations. The authors conferred distinction upon every writer whose name appeared upon their pages. Yet passages occurred in their writing which showed that the subject at times overpowered them, and, particularly where their appreciation was highest, they were apt to allow criticism to disappear in rhetoric. Their account of Giotto, for instance, was disturbed by repeated comparisons of his achievement with those of Ghirlandaio and Raphael; while their numerous allusions to the antique and their appreciations of its superior excellence were hardly re-

quired of historians of the art of Italy. Nothing is more remarkable in the second edition than its increased directness and reserve. The work now possesses an accuracy of focus and a sustained concentration which can only be described as masterly.

It is of the greatest interest to trace from the authors' pages the methods of study which they seem to have pursued, and to deduce the quality of their genius and its limitations. Much light is thrown upon this question by the biographies which the editor has supplied; but nothing can be more suggestive than actually to follow the authors at their work. Their treatment of the great St Matthew, now in the Uffizi, provides us with a typical instance. The picture was formerly attributed to Lorenzo di Bicci, but was claimed without hesitation by Crowe and Cavalcaselle for the school of Orcagna; and, as Milanese showed that Mariotto di Nardo di Cione—believed to be of the same family—had been commissioned to paint a San Matteo for the hospital in which this picture was thought originally to have hung, it was concluded that Mariotto was its author. Evidence, however, has since been brought to light showing that Orcagna, while painting a St Matthew for the Consuls of the Arte del Cambio, fell ill, and that the completion of the work was entrusted to his brother Jacopo. The authors remark that the work bears the device of the exchange—golden coins in a medallion—and justly claim that their original observations are fully endorsed.

The picture divides itself into three equal parts, of which the central is occupied by the life-size figure of St Matthew, while of the lateral portions each depicts two scenes from his life. To one of these the authors refer in terms of the highest praise; it 'is a grand composition of four figures of tall proportions, full of life and character, and in the pure Giottesque style'; praise is given to one of the figures in another panel; of the other two, the subjects only are given, and in one case incorrectly. The error deserves notice, for the importance of the picture, and of the problem connected with it, would naturally act as an incentive to the greatest vigilance and care; and to find St Matthew's martyrdom described as a decapitation, when, in fact, he is stabbed in the back while standing before the altar, shows con-

clusively that the scene made little or no impression upon the authors. They originally connected the work with Orcagna, because they discerned in certain passages a quality beyond the reach of a painter of the second rank. They passed over, with insufficient attention, the passages in which it was not attained. Yet the inequality at once of conception and of execution to which Crowe and Cavalcaselle thus negatively testify, not only becomes increasingly obvious when the picture is carefully reviewed, but is clearly evidence of the first order in favour of their own theory with regard to its authorship.

The inaccuracy here noted is surprising, chiefly because it is connected, as we have seen, with a picture to which problems of a peculiar interest attach. The mistake, however, is characteristic of the authors; several instances, indeed, might be quoted, in which they admire the presentation of one subject where the artist clearly intended to depict another. It was undoubtedly in technique and execution that their chief interest lay; and, though they rightly discerned that it belonged to them as historians to consider also the mind of the artist in its relation to the subjects he was required to present, and the changes and developments to which, as time went by, these subjects themselves became liable, they were unable to bring the same spontaneity of insight to bear upon this aspect of their work; and it will always be felt that they have treated it with a somewhat heavy hand. This again may best be judged from a quotation. In their description of the paintings at Assisi they write:—

‘But the frescoes of the Upper Church do not merely tell the story of art, they were intended to declare the abstinence, the piety, and the miracles of St Francis. And a sketch of these from the legend may be welcome to the reader.’

A condensed life of St Francis here follows, by no means always correct in its relation to the frescoes it is meant to illustrate. The quotation of its opening sentence will suffice:—

‘Son of Pier Bernardone, a rich citizen of Assisi, St Francis was born to affluence, but preferred, even in those years in which the passions prompt youth to the pursuit of pleasure, the exercise of charity.’

Possibly the authors shrank from the task of recreating

St. Francis as he appeared to the mind of Giotto; yet the want of sympathy in their attitude is hardly less than culpable, and constitutes a serious flaw in their account of the revival. 'If it were claimed for the Franciscan movement,' writes Mr Roger Fry in the 'Monthly Review,' 'that it brought about the great outburst of Italian art, the position would be difficult to refute'; and the truth of his contention is increasingly recognised.

That the authors were blind to the significance of the revival on what we shall call its spiritual side may be inferred from their account of its earliest great exponent, Nicolò Pisano. They showed in their first edition that both the models employed by Nicolò and his methods of execution connected him with a contemporary school of sculpture in southern Italy. They were able to point to a document which showed that he was an Apulian by birth. Their theory was a shock to the advocates of Tuscan supremacy; and ingenious arguments have been brought to bear upon it. Perhaps the question is not settled so completely as may now appear. But the view of the authors has been corroborated by the further discovery of sculptures in Apulia, which give fresh testimony to the importance of the school and to its close relation with classic Roman sculpture, on the study of which Nicolò was mainly dependent for his technical method. But if the two busts, provided by the editor as illustrations of the south Italian work, are to be accepted as in any degree representative, they show conclusively that, however near to the Apulians in technique, Nicolò belonged in spirit to another land. If he was, as the authors tell us, by birth an Apulian, it is easy to understand what causes may have induced him to leave his early home. Yet it is strange to notice that the authors fail completely to observe the new spirit which, in spite of ill-adapted forms, already asserts itself in the pulpit of the Pisan Baptistery.

'Nicola,' they say, 'appears at Pisa in the middle of the thirteenth century, and ignores the religious feeling which marked his predecessors and contemporaries there to revive the imitation of the classic Roman period, and remain a mere spectator of the struggle for the new Christian types of the early school of Florence.'

Six years later Nicolò produced a second pulpit, and in the short interval which separates the two works he revolutionised his art. That the change was not effected without external aid may readily be allowed; but the necessary and vital factor in the change can only have operated from within. The spiritual agency which produced it was already Nicolò's when he carved the pulpit at Pisa, and if its full emancipation was yet to be achieved, it nevertheless gave unmistakable evidence of its presence and its power.

'None of the compositions,' writes Sir Joseph Crowe, 'more strikingly illustrate* the system of classic imitation peculiar to Nicola than that of the birth of the Saviour. In the middle of the space the Virgin, recumbent on a couch, would be a fit representation of the queenly Dido; and the figure behind, pointing to her with a gesture and apparently conversing with an angel, is more like an empress than the humble follower of a carpenter's wife in Bethlehem.'†

It is easy to understand that the composition made little appeal to one who had failed to find its key. The figure behind, who 'points to the Virgin' and 'converses with an angel,' is the Virgin herself; the angel is the angel of the Annunciation. The nobility of the composition and its whole emotional power depend upon the grand emphasis with which Nicolò is enabled to treat the Virgin by thus setting his two representations of her to support and confirm one another in the centre. The essence of his work is, indeed, its passionate feeling; and no appreciation of it is possible without recognition that its forms are definitely antagonistic to the sculptor's deepest aim. That, in spite of this antagonism, he is able to do them justice even in the eyes of those who look to him only for imitation of the antique, is culminating evidence of his perhaps unparalleled greatness.

The concentration of the authors upon the technical side of their subject, of which their treatment of Nicolò's pulpit provides an illustration, puts them at a serious disadvantage in the review of all works where the spirit

* Such misprints occur frequently throughout the book. It is not so written in the first edition.

† A photograph of this composition is given in the new edition.

expressed itself in spite of technique rather than by means of it. A close examination of their account of Giotto, who is rightly the hero of their opening volumes, leads inevitably to the conclusion that they formed no consistent conception of his individuality. They recognise of course the sublime artist, the great innovator, but, perhaps, primarily, a painter of unparalleled skill, to whom, as such, all contemporary work must be assigned which, without violating his maxims, passes a given standard of ability. Such a test is essentially inadequate, and the application of it presents peculiar difficulties in the case of a school whose members were in closest association, and whose works have, in very few cases, preserved their original qualities of touch. It seems probable that a material so complex and so uncertain can only be satisfactorily dealt with by simultaneous consideration of it from all possible points of view. It cannot therefore be altogether surprising that, in criticising the St Francis series in the Upper Church of Assisi, the authors singled out, as most distinctive of Giotto, the very works which later critics have agreed to withdraw from him;* or that in the Lower Church they assigned to him unhesitatingly an entire series, of which it may now appear that tradition had the truer word to say. Clearly their opinions with regard to this master must not be accepted without corroboration; and one problem, at least, may fairly be considered here, as, by the reissue of their History, it cannot fail to be revived.

'The dying echoes of a debate which once aroused keen interest still linger round the problem of Dante's portrait,' wrote Mr Roger Fry † in reference to the frescoes of the Bargello. 'That the chapel was burnt and completely restored in 1332 would seem alone sufficient evidence of their belonging to a subsequent date.' Sir Joseph, however, has not hesitated to reassert the previous verdict with a sense of absolute conviction; in spite of more than usual maltreatment, the remains (he says) 'are of incalculable value to the student of Giotto's manner.' The authors' chief opponent is the distinguished

* Mr Berenson first noted that the later numbers, particularly the last three, had separate characteristics. His opinion was endorsed by Mr Roger Fry, and receives new sanction from Mr Douglas.

† 'Monthly Review,' Feb. 1901.

Milanesi, but he does not attempt to meet them on their own ground; dealing only with the external evidence, he shows conclusively that at best it is inconclusive. To his more important arguments no adequate reply is given either by the authors or by the editor, who here corroborates their view.

Our interest, then, centres necessarily upon the frescoes themselves. Can sufficient evidence be drawn from them to justify the traditional attribution to Giotto? Technical qualities must needs be at a discount in works which among their enemies number both fire and whitewash. Only from one or two groups in the Paradise can any idea be formed of the original quality of the work. The principal sources of evidence must be sought in the general design of the chapel, and the composition of the various subjects. Now it is precisely here that the student who is familiar with Giotto's manner will be most unmistakably reminded of it. He will gather from the frescoes on the south wall that the artist's primary intention has been to tell his story clearly, completely, and concisely. Not the smallest concession is made to the spectator's desire for interest or amusement; that intense, discerning realism which pierces to the essential and presents it as the obvious, displays here again its magic of directness and simplicity. The gift of abstraction and concentration which this feat implies was an inheritance from the artists of Byzantium. Giotto showed the profoundest respect for their traditions in his work at Padua; and a striking parallelism between the Bargello subjects and those on either side of a Byzantine Magdalen, now in the Accademia, suggests that the Bargello painter stood to them in a relation similar to his. Moreover, where an interior is represented—as in the feast at the Pharisee's house—we see it, as usual in Giotto, slightly from the side, but in a perspective accommodated imperfectly to the chosen point of view.

So far the evidence is consistent, however slight, and suggests, not only Giotto's authorship, but that very period of his activity with which the work has always been associated. But as soon as the figures—such as still survive—are separately examined, difficulties multiply. Christ, in the raising of Lazarus, has all the power to be expected in a composition of Giotto, but of the remaining

figures there are few which positively recall him, and some, at least, seem definitely uncharacteristic. The 'longing glance' of the Magdalen in the 'Noli me tangere' made a peculiar impression upon our authors; and they even remark of her counterpart at Padua that she 'has not the beauteous look of supreme longing which is so attractive in the same subject at the chapel of the Podestà.' They are the last critics in the world to speak of such a quality as attractiveness except where it exists; Giotto is the last painter of whose work it would ever be natural to predicate it. The secret of his power is in his concentration upon the complete revelation of his theme; and, conceiving the Magdalen at her moment of intensest life, he is not likely to admit any appeal to what is comparatively a superficial and external interest, much less to give it a primary place.

Reference has already been made to the beautiful remains of the Paradise fresco. A careful examination of such faces as are still discernible seems to strengthen the impression which a study of the Magdalen creates. They are characterised by a softness and meditative beauty of which the Paduan work, as we now know it, shows no trace; and in form no less than in expression they are governed by a type distinct from that of Giotto. The faces are oval and the features rather subdued than incisive in their effect. That the artist had a gift for portraiture is generally known; but even in his portraits the typical treatment by no means disappears. Cardinal d'Acquasparta resembles Charles of Valois as much as he differs from him. It must be added that no judgment is possible of the repainted fragment which once represented Dante.

These remarks would be of small importance if no other work existed in which similar characteristics could be traced. They can hardly fail to be interesting in view of the striking parallel afforded by a fresco in the north transept of the Lower Church at Assisi. Those who believe the 'Life of Christ' to be Giotto's naturally assign to the same artist the lovely 'Resuscitation of the child killed by falling from a tower'; and for this may claim the authority of Vasari. But this scene, worthy of high praise as it undoubtedly is, differs from the Allegories or the Paduan work only less than from the adjacent stories

of the Virgin and of Christ. Its resemblance to the Paradise fresco can hardly be over-emphasised. Among its kneeling figures the two that are most prominent might be transferred almost in their entirety to the chapel of the Podestà. The dramatic tensivity of the situation excludes the dreamy calm so notable in the Paradise; but again, instead of the complex action to which, in other hands, such a scene would probably have lent itself, we have a company whose forms and faces are inspired by a single sentiment, whose joined hands, moreover, recall irresistibly the gesture which, with different purpose, is employed with equal mastery at the Bargello. But it is in the three figures that stand behind Cardinal d'Acquasparta there, and are among the best preserved in the chapel, that the resemblance appears most emphatically; and, where the colour remains, it has the special clearness and coolness of tone for which the Assisi work is famous.

That the latter is not by Giotto is probable, not only from the peculiar character of the figures, but from a certain lack of natural clearness which marks the composition, and seems sometimes to extend to failure of dramatic imagination. A single example will suffice. The interest of the picture lies, not in the death, but in the resuscitation of the child; he stands amid a group of kneeling figures, his eyes raised to heaven. But, to explain the miracle, a tower is inserted at one side, with the child falling head first from it to the ground. For lack of space the artist has been obliged to set one of the kneeling group beneath him, and he allows this very figure partly to turn, and, looking up, to see him falling upon her. Here is an error of which Giotto could hardly have been capable; but in this one composition are other passages almost as difficult to explain. The architecture deserves special attention. The boy's tower is ornate, but clumsy; at the opposite side of the picture is an elaborate design for the façade of a church. Here, not only are the parts ill-related, but wholly inconsistent in idea. A triangular pediment, pierced by a trefoil, surmounts the whole; and in the wall below there is a section of an elaborate rose-window; but a section only, for the roof of a projecting part of the front is built across the middle of it, and a porch, projecting further

below this projection, completes the sense of disorder. Such a design can hardly have been the work of a trained architect; but it satisfied its designer, for a replica of it is still to be seen in the chapel of the Podestà.*

Internal evidences seem thus no less conflicting than those to be derived from external sources. A theory of reconciliation is clearly required, and easily suggests itself. May not the chapel have been originally decorated by Giotto, and have sustained, in the fire of 1332, injuries which left nothing but the main lines of its compositions intact? May not the date 1337, inscribed on the left wall below the figure of St Venanzius, refer to a restoration undertaken, according to the original design, by the nameless pupil who also painted the miracle of the fallen child? Such an explanation receives support from the fact that, on the south wall of the chapel, the framing is not adapted to the frescoes, and is therefore hardly likely to be of the same date.

But the question whether Giotto was or was not the author of the now mutilated frescoes of the Bargello, has an interest which, great though it is, is mainly derivative. The same interest attaches inevitably to all controversy concerning his work, not merely because truth and accuracy are everywhere of value, but because the critic and the historian have here to deal with a unique material, which it is of the utmost importance to understand. Whoever writes of Giotto betrays, consciously or unconsciously, by keenness of sympathy or violence of antagonism, that he is dealing with a man of altogether peculiar power. Modern criticism reveals an increasing desire to account for this power, and to point out—what is probable—that it is not quite what we have thought it. In recent years an Italian writer, who can claim Venturi for his teacher, has attempted to prove Giotto inferior to one of his least-known pupils, compares unfavourably a Crucifixion, probably not his, with that by Duccio of Siena, and concludes that he is a mean artist with a gift for getting on.† Again, a well-known English

* On the north wall, in the right-hand top corner. The subject of the fresco is gone; but of the building, its triangular pediment and mutilated rose-window may still be traced, with signs of a porch below.

† This work would have escaped our notice had not the editor of the *History* directed serious attention to it.

critic* has lately raised a certain Sienese 'Sassetta' to a place of superior eminence, and asserts that, as an exponent of Franciscan tradition, of what he calls 'seraphic spirituality,' Giotto is outmatched. The greatness of Giotto, according to this critic, lay in his perception that the human body, like other objects, not being flat, a painting could not be effective that represented it so. It was the same author who affirmed that a painting could not be said to exist artistically unless it implied a recognition of this fact; who seemed to suggest that the value of a painting might be tested according to the degree of vividness with which it represented depth, and was led to find a more tangible reality in Giotto's pictures than in the common world. It is tempting to say that Giotto might accommodate himself to any theory if to this; and the statement would conceal a truth.

It will be remembered that Ruskin, in his earlier evangelical period, found many a happy text in the Arena Chapel. And so the lovers of 'composition' find composition in Giotto; while sentimentalists of every kind succeed in drawing their proper comfort from this single source. Giotto is a stronghold for the subjective idealist, presenting the mirror to every intelligence, dismissing each admirer with a new vision of himself. Only the occasional upstart, as perverse as he is superficial, reads him blank; and the dissentient voice is futile against that popular acclaim which, with unerring instinct, has raised Giotto to a place among the greatest. Probably, therefore, his work is of that balanced order which defies a hasty interpretation. The sovereign intellect was at work in him, many-sided, all-inclusive; to the common mortal he stands for some mysterious force of nature, which, in all its manifestations, is felt more keenly because he cannot comprehend it. Consider Giotto in his relation to his time, and again the same conflict of superficial evidence similarly testifies to the presence of an agency for which none can account. The various streams meet and mingle, and their separate identity is lost. There is truth in the hasty contention, only too characteristic of modern criticism, that this man's master is a myth. If to one critic Giotto seems

* Mr Berenson, in 'The Burlington Magazine,' No. 7, vol. 3, Sept. 1903.

related most obviously to the Roman, to another to the French; if tradition represents him as the translation of a Greek into a native style; if he presents himself to our authors as a Florentine of the Florentines—in each of these various aspects an element of truth appears. To what, in their combination, do they point, if not to an absorbing personality, a sifting intelligence which, with living magnetism, drew life from every source, and reconciled what seemed irreconcilable?

Such a power is recognisably manifested in his relation to the great religious movement of his day. Violent antagonisms were characteristic of the time; the various impulses that govern human action personified themselves in individual men; and the result was that kind of excess which is familiar in philosophical abstractions. The Franciscan order, which had sprung from an idealism too pure to be governed by existing circumstance, was, in Giotto's time, conspicuous already for its degradation. Giotto distinguishes the purity of the original purpose from its error; he devotes his genius to Saint Francis, but directs attention in the plainest terms to the fallacy of his cardinal doctrine. Christ's poverty, says Giotto in his *canzone* on the subject, becomes a pitfall to men who profess and cannot realise it. His words have double meaning, like those of every great teacher. Our action must be governed by that meaning which bears helpfully upon it. The value of poverty in Him lay in the protest against avarice in us. Thus Giotto summarises and seems to dismiss what, in appearance, was the main motive of religious thought in his day, and was, in fact, the life profession of that order from whose teaching the artists of Italy drew their inspiration. Those who will may doubt the sincerity of his religious life; none familiar with his work can do so.

Giotto gathered up all that was vital from the inheritance bequeathed him by the past, he looked with a discerning eye upon the present, cleaving to reality and setting its counterfeit aside; yet it is not until he is confronted with his better known successors that his greatness is rightly understood. It is customary to regard him as the first term in a developing series, to imagine the art of Florence magnificently expanding till, at the end of an array of noble names, Raphael and Michael

Angelo unite to form its crown. The conception is too simple to be true; nor could it possibly have held its ground had not a genuine progress in the technique of the art obscured the profounder issue and increased the difficulty of an impartial judgment. No serious musician would suppose that Bach is inferior to Brahms as a composer because of the more numerous devices of which the latter could avail himself. A sound comparison must be based on the emotional quality of their work, its expressiveness as conceived in relation to the means of expression that each possessed. Yet the critic of painting seems sometimes to forget that the development of the technical medium does not of necessity carry with it an increase of artistic seriousness and depth of purpose. It is the last-named qualities, spiritual in their scope, that determine finally the value of the work; and it is only when their due prominence is given them that Giotto's true stature can appear.

The art of Italy owed its origin to a religious awakening, and it remained in the service of religion till the end. Some artists accepted, some refused the faith for which they worked; they are not, as artists, to be differently judged on that account. It is the artist's privilege to identify himself with whatever in human life is passionate and pure, untrammelled by the dictates of the abstract intelligence. In Giotto, undoubtedly, it might be difficult to distinguish his strength from his faith. Yet the value of his achievement is independent of his belief, and goes beyond it. His Nativity, his Crucifixion, his Resurrection—to choose subjects which include the most direct relation to the religion he professed—make an absolutely universal appeal. Whether these representations are historic or not is an almost irrelevant question. They are more than historic; they adequately symbolise the aspiration, the renunciation, the sense of kinship with the divine, which govern and inspire the life of every human spirit.

Art. III.—RECENT LIGHTS ON ANCIENT EGYPT.

1. *A History of Egypt from the End of the Neolithic Period to the Death of Cleopatra VII.* By E. A. Wallis Budge. Eight vols. London: Kegan Paul, 1902.
2. *A History of Egypt.* Six vols. Vol. I (fifth edition): *From the Earliest Kings to the 16th Dynasty.* Vol. II (second edition): *The 17th and 18th Dynasties.* By W. M. Flinders Petrie. London: Methuen, 1897-1903.
3. *The Dawn of Civilisation: Egypt and Chaldæa.* By G. Maspero. Edited by A. H. Sayce; translated by M. L. McClure. Fourth edition. London: S. P. C. K., 1901.
4. *Manual of Egyptian Archæology.* By G. Maspero. Translated by Amelia B. Edwards. Fifth edition. London: Grevel, 1902.
5. *Methods and Aims in Archæology.* By W. M. Flinders Petrie. London: Macmillan, 1904.
6. *The Gods of the Egyptians.* By E. A. Wallis Budge. Two vols. London: Methuen, 1904.
7. *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia.* (Gifford Lectures.) By A. H. Sayce. Edinburgh: Clark, 1902.

AMONG all the branches of knowledge pursued in spite of the absence of any utilitarian advantages to recommend them, there are few that prove more generally attractive than Egyptology. The prestige of Old Egypt, the extraordinary range of its history into the remote past, the perfect preservation of many early and most perishable relics, the massiveness of its greatest monuments, the part played by the land and people in biblical history and in the development of civilisation, appeal to every educated man. In spite of protestations that Egypt would be a very pleasant country if it were not for the antiquities, it is certain that the multitude of visitors drawn to the banks of the Nile in the search for health or amusement, or driven thither by the imperious command of Fashion, furnishes a stream of recruits to the ranks of Egyptologists, both professional and amateur.

Apart from private archæological undertakings, which in some cases are on a large scale, the Egypt Exploration Fund—an archæological society with two flourishing

branches—is entirely supported by subscriptions raised in England and America. Nor is the Anglo-Saxon by any means alone in feeling the charms of Egyptology. To the French, Egypt has, for more than a century, had a peculiar attraction, scientific, political, and sentimental; the German *gelehrter* has made this branch of learning, like every other, his own; and the Governments of France and Germany spend large sums in the encouragement of Egyptian research. Champollion's triumphs in the first interpretation of hieroglyphs were won between 1820 and 1831; and since that time there has been no cessation of labour on the philological side in defining the values of the hieroglyphic signs, the meaning of the words, and the general sense of the inscriptions. Every successful attempt at decipherment brought with it some new contribution to knowledge, establishing the existence or the succession of kings, their monumental or warlike activity, the age of tombs and temples, or throwing light on the beliefs and practices illustrated by the texts. Archæological exploration and discovery, begun a century ago, are now proceeding more rapidly than ever; and decipherment has progressed so fast that ordinary texts are read with fluency if not with complete accuracy, and even those that are difficult may generally, in the hands of the best scholars, be compelled to yield up their secrets.

Many and various have been the histories of ancient Egypt written since Champollion's time. At first, like the brief account of Sharpe and the bulky work of Bunsen, they were founded on the statements of classical authors, with scraps of half-understood monumental evidence worked in. In 1859 the great Egyptologist, Heinrich Brugsch, wrote in French a history of Egypt down to the conquest by Alexander, based upon the inscriptions. In 1876 he was able to boast on the title-page of a recast edition in German that it was 'derived entirely from the monuments,' though it must be admitted that the later portion is extremely meagre as a result of excluding the literary authorities. Brugsch's History dispensed with footnotes or other citations of the sources, and was therefore of little value as a work of reference. These were abundantly supplied in 1884 by Wiedemann, whose '*Ägyptische Geschichte*' is mainly an elaborate and

critical catalogue of material relating to the successive kings, both published and unpublished.

The authority of classical writers has received a rude shock from the comparison of their statements with the facts recorded in monumental inscriptions. That their lights were misleading is a saying that might be expected to apply in regard to their knowledge and perception of past history. One must say it with regret that it is hardly less true of their observations of contemporary affairs. One historical writer in Greek has stood the test well, and that is Manetho the Sebennyte, an Egyptian priest of Heliopolis employed by either Ptolemy Soter or Philadelphus to compile an account of the king's predecessors on the throne of Egypt. His lists of kings' names, and the divisions into dynasties, are, in the main, corroborated by the monuments; the figures recording the lengths of the reigns are not trustworthy; but perhaps this is owing to the corruptions of copyists. Beyond these lists very little of Manetho's great work has survived. If one may judge by the long passages which Josephus professes to have excerpted from Manetho, and the short notices of the kings preserved by Africanus, some of which must have actually been taken from the work of the Egyptian priest, the historical narratives in Manetho were of a semi-mythical character, and were probably founded on such tales as were told by the storytellers in the bazaars.

While clay tablets of annals in cuneiform script from Babylonia and Assyria have long been known, it has generally been an accepted belief that the Egyptians kept no systematic chronicles. One of the latest discoveries, however, has shown that this idea is by no means correct. At Palermo there is preserved a fragment of a slab, finely carved on back and front with hieroglyphic writing, which, when it was complete, gave a view of the kings' reigns down to the time of its erection in the fifth dynasty, some twenty or thirty centuries B.C. As interpreted by its German editors,* the first line gave simply a long list of names of the kings of Upper Egypt and of Lower Egypt who ruled in the dark pre-

* Joh. Heinrich Schäfer, 'Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen,' mit beiträgen von Ludwig Borchardt und Kurt Sethe. Berlin, 1902.

historic period before the two kingdoms were united under Menes. These names are all new to science; and it is to be feared that Egyptologists will never have the good fortune to find them inscribed on contemporary monuments. The subsequent lines contained regular annals of the successive dynasties, from the 'first' dynasty onwards, recording under each year the height of the Nile, festivals celebrated, victories won, buildings founded and endowments given. If these chronicles were compiled under the fifth dynasty there seems no reason why they should not have been kept up, in one form or another, till the age of the Ptolemies.

A famous papyrus at Turin, of about the age of Rameses II in the nineteenth dynasty (c. 1300 B.C.), must, when complete, have given a list of all the dynastic kings who had reigned down to that time, together with the lengths of their reigns, and apparently summarised the prehistoric kings as a dynasty of Spirits (the *vénues* of Manetho), as if they had been demigods reigning between the true deities and the human dynasty of Menes. The Turin list we can now recognise with probability to have been derived from full and authentic annals; and it seems not beyond hope that those annals themselves may one day be forthcoming. But the almost complete absence of authentic historical information from the fragments of Manetho's history justifies the apprehension that the old annals had long been lost sight of in his day, and the later ones very inadequately kept. Persistency in such an unessential matter is hardly to be looked for; the handiwork of the Egyptian scribe shows that to devise and carry out a system was abhorrent to the character of the people. A good custom initiated by an intelligent and enterprising ruler might soon fall into desuetude after his personal influence ceased, perhaps to be revived again irregularly from time to time.

The number of inscriptions and papyri now available for the Egyptologist is immense, and increases substantially year by year. From this mass proceeds a gradual broadening and consolidation of the narrative obtained by a more or less painful accumulation and comparison of facts. But now and again there rises from the soil of the Nile valley, as if by magic, an entire chapter of unsuspected history—it may be that it lies in

the evidence of a single find or in simultaneous discoveries over a wider area. In 1886 was found the diplomatic correspondence of kings of Babylonia, Assyria, Mitanni in Mesopotamia, and Alashiya (Cyprus?), together with reports of the governors of Syria and Palestine, addressed to Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV, Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty. The find consisted of some three hundred tablets in cuneiform writing, but many of them were abominably broken or rubbed down by the unhandy fellahin finders in their attempts to secure and sell them. Flinders Petrie examined the spot at El Amarna in 1892 and found a few more tablets. The site proved to be a group of chambers close to the palace of the heretic king, Amenhotep IV (who called himself Akhenaten), evidently set aside specially for the decipherment, writing, and storage of despatches in foreign languages and cuneiform script, fragments of glossaries being found along with the letters. The letters of El Amarna have thrown a flood of light on the relations of Egypt with Syria and the great Asiatic powers beyond—a subject previously obscure to the last degree—and have provided a most important synchronism in Babylonian and Egyptian history.*

Again, until 1894, the year in which Heinrich Brugsch died, the history of Egypt for practical purposes began with the last king of the third dynasty. It seemed well-nigh hopeless to look for any earlier antiquities. Now archaeologists find their most fruitful field in the pre-historic remains, and decipherers some of their most attractive problems in the archaic writings of the first three dynasties. The cultivation of systematic archaeology and of scientific excavation, under the leadership of Professor Flinders Petrie, is responsible for the great success achieved in this department. Curiously enough, Lower and Middle Egypt have as yet contributed little; and it was not until Petrie, working southward in successive years from the Delta through the Faiyum and El Amarna, at length reached Koptos that scientific workers struck the earliest strata. Immediately afterwards, in 1896, the simultaneous discoveries of De Morgan and Petrie in

* This synchronism, about 1400 B.C., gives a fixed point in the chronology of the Cretan and 'Mycenean' civilisations, archaeology having clearly proved the letters contemporaneous with the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty.

Upper Egypt demonstrated the existence of numerous cemeteries of the prehistoric period, some of which had already been ruthlessly plundered by the Arabs, the magnificent flint implements and stone vases which they contained being highly prized by collectors, though they knew not what they were. The efforts of scientific workers have now saved much valuable information; but dealers' plundering of the shallow graves has gone on at such a prodigious rate that deposits of importance have rarely been found intact, and the supply of antiquities from the cemeteries seems now to be nearing exhaustion.

Contemporary with these revelations of prehistoric culture in Egypt, the excavations of Amélineau at Abydos and of De Morgan at Negadeh proved the existence of the tombs of the kings of Manetho's first dynasty, with inscriptions in a hieroglyphic writing already highly developed. Unfortunately, the diggings in these tombs, though they yielded some great prizes, were of the most summary and unscientific description, and were ruinous to the scanty remains that still existed under the sand after much plundering in ancient times. They were resumed by Petrie in a far more scientific manner, and resulted in the extraction, from the abandoned excavations of his predecessor, of a vast mass of important material—carved ivories and ebony panels, some fragments being of the most exquisite workmanship, archaic *stelæ*, both royal and private, and much information about the construction of the tombs.* The panels appear to have represented the annals of the deceased kings in primitive writing and picturing, but for the most part they are so obscure and fragmentary as to offer little prospect of interpretation.

These discoveries, which restore to us something of the individuality of each king of the first dynasty, have been followed by others in the same neighbourhood among the sepulchres of the second and third dynasties.† Unfortunately, the deposits with the bodies of these later kings were much less rich; probably the bulk of the offerings to the tomb were laid outside the chamber of the tomb itself; at any rate, what has survived the long

* Published in the annual memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

† See Garstang's 'Mahasna and Bet Khallaf' for the tombs of two kings of the third dynasty.

ages of plunder and decay is singularly uninformative. But the great tombs themselves remain; and now the development of the '*mastaba*' tomb of the Old Kingdom and of the pyramid can be traced through rapid stages. First, there is the great chambered brick sepulchre of Menes himself, standing entirely above ground, the body having been laid scarcely, if at all, below the surface level of the plain; next, the body is sunk in a large subterranean chamber; then in the third dynasty the building is solidified above ground into a uniform mass of brickwork—a *mastaba*—with 'battered' sides, and the sepulchral chamber is reached by a staircase. This last is practically the type of the Old Kingdom tomb for nobles of the fourth to the sixth dynasty, except that, instead of a staircase, they were content with a vertical pit ending in the small burial chamber. The later kings of the third dynasty devised a lofty pile, placing one *mastaba* on the top of another, so as to form 'stepped pyramids' with three or four stages. Seneferu, the last king of the dynasty, filled in the steps to form an even slope, and so produced a true pyramid. The outer form was now fixed; only the workmanship and mode of construction remained to be simplified and perfected in the Great Pyramid by his successor, Cheops, of the fourth dynasty.

Thus the art and archaeology of these earliest dynasties have been added to our knowledge in the space of a few years; while, at the same time, the prehistoric civilisation of Egypt has been revealed to us in an extraordinary wealth of detail and abundance of material. One may, indeed, complain that the products of one excavation among the prehistoric cemeteries are monotonously like those of another, and that the main types are soon exhausted. But instructive variations in detail are discovered, and a small percentage of really striking novelties is unearthed each year; and, quite apart from this, there are great advantages in the infinite accumulation of material, for it enables the investigator to generalise with safety. He can establish series, he can find true averages, when he has hundreds or even thousands of examples in each category on which to base the deductions. Flinders Petrie has thus instituted what he calls a 'sequence dating' for the prehistoric period in Egypt. In no other country has any prehistoric age left such a

wealth of relics in intelligible order, even as they were deposited group by group for a definite purpose and on definite occasions. The plains in some parts of North America are strewn with implements, like the deserts of Somaliland and Egypt; but these preserve little or no evidence of relative dating one with another; remains of widely differing ages may be jostling each other indistinguishably. It is otherwise with the contents of a grave. Here all the objects that exist together undisturbed were deposited at one and the same time, on the day when the corpse was interred and the grave filled in. The anthropologist can study crania and skeletons from the Egyptian graves by the hundred; and large numbers of dried bodies (buried in a crouched position) have been found in wonderful preservation, and are now being subjected by medical men to minute examination. The archæologist easily perceives that he has reached a period when the potter's wheel is as yet unknown; copper is already employed, though rare, while the infinitely superior alloy of bronze is not found till late in the historic period.

Such is the scientific value of these marvellous finds of relics of a remote age, far earlier than the practice of mummification, and unmarked by any of those characters that we have learnt to recognise as essentially Egyptian, while the objects themselves are often beautiful and interesting. Even the pottery is frequently of fine form and decorated with tasteful or remarkable ornaments and figures; and the stone vases are elegant and varied in shape and material. The flint knives and spearheads display the perfection of workmanship; even the choicest specimens from Denmark can scarcely rival them for fineness and accuracy in the chipping, especially as the Egyptian flint is singularly uniform in texture, so that the ancient artificer was able to calculate the effect of his blows or pressure to a nicety with little fear of disappointment. Chronology is a difficulty everywhere when once we have passed beyond the synchronism between Babylonia and Egypt in the fifteenth century B.C., which fixes the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty in the seventeenth century B.C. with close accuracy. An astronomical datum appears to place the twelfth dynasty from the twenty-first to the nineteenth centuries B.C., but many consider the dynasty

to be far older. The early dynasties are put at least about 3000 B.C. but may be nearer to 5000 B.C. The prehistoric age is, of course, not to be calculated at all chronologically.

Perhaps the most remarkable discoveries of late years are those we have thus summarily described ; but side by side with them flows a continual stream of smaller finds, in language, literature, history, and archæology, of periods previously known with some fulness. The histories written before 1880, nay, before 1900, for popular purposes are quite out of date, though Wiedemann's will long retain its value as a storehouse of references. There is, however, an abundance of recent works, more especially for English readers. The most notable is Professor Maspero's '*Histoire de l'Orient Classique*' in three large and finely illustrated volumes, bearing the titles respectively, '*Les Origines*,' '*Les Premières Mêlées des Peuples*,' and '*Les Empires*,'* issued between 1894 and 1899. In his first volume Professor Maspero perforce gives Egypt and Babylonia separate treatment. Later, their history becomes more interwoven ; then Israel rises into prominence, until ultimately the Persian Empire blends all together. Professor Maspero, in his bibliographical footnotes, shows an extraordinary acquaintance with the literature of his vast subject. When one remembers his activity as administrator of the Department of Antiquities in Egypt, as an explorer, and as a brilliant editor of Egyptian texts, it is astonishing that he can find time besides for researches in so wide a field. There seems no department of Egyptology which is not touched upon with a sure hand in his pages ; and the history of Babylonia, Assyria, and the other countries is handled with proportionate fulness. The history seems somewhat unwieldy and unmethodical to the reader in spite of the consummate ease with which Maspero can apply his

* Good English versions of this work have been published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, under the titles of '*The Dawn of Civilisation*,' '*The Struggle of the Nations*,' and '*The Passing of the Empires*,' and the first of these volumes has already reached a fourth edition. In this great work is displayed the whole early history of the nearer East, the civilisations of the Nile valley and of Mesopotamia naturally taking the first place.

immense learning ; but it is a veritable mine of information, and of ideas where information fails.

A different treatment is to be found in the series of volumes edited by that indefatigable explorer and archaeologist, Flinders Petrie, the pioneer of scientific excavation in Egypt. Petrie himself has contributed two volumes reaching to the end of the eighteenth dynasty ; a third from his pen is to bring the history down to the occupation by Alexander. Professor Petrie's plan makes his books a catalogue or work of reference rather than a consecutive history. All the information that can be collected about each ruler, whether notable or obscure, is thus given separately, comprising a list of his monuments and references to the publications. The illustrations are well selected, but not well reproduced ; the utility and value of the work, however, are beyond dispute.

A more attractive-looking work for the general reader or amateur Egyptologist is that issued by Dr E. A. Wallis Budge of the British Museum. The eight volumes, simultaneously published, range from the prehistoric period down to the end of the Ptolemaic rule. The style is more popular and less pregnant than that of the closely packed volumes of Petrie. The one is a work for students by a very original investigator, who is sometimes led astray by the very abundance of his ideas, and by the lack of trustworthy translations ; the other is intended for popular use, though written by an expert in many Oriental tongues, who can therefore pronounce with authority on points which Egyptologists, as a rule, have to leave alone as outside their sphere of knowledge. Unfortunately, it contains blunders of the most obvious description. Many of the full-page illustrations of royal portraits involve astounding confusions between persons belonging to widely different ages, that were current in old works, and are again adopted without question. The work is not the result of painstaking original thought and research, like those of Maspero and Petrie ; but Dr Budge's wide reading and a certain dogmatising common-sense have enabled him to give an account of Egyptian history which is not without instruction for the specialist, and should suit the general reader very well, especially if the author will take the trouble to revise it carefully for future editions.

It will be recognised that, however grateful we must be to all these able pioneers and guides, we are far from having an ideal history of Egypt. The active Egyptologists are so fully occupied—some with administrative work in the formation and care of the national collections, others with excavations, others again with special researches—that they cannot undertake the arduous preparation needed when a sound general history of ancient Egypt is to be written. The archæologist may err radically for want of adequate knowledge of the language; the philologist through having no grasp of the archæology, and all alike, however brilliant or sound they may be, through lack of general preparation. To write a good history of Egypt, a thorough knowledge of the country and of the monuments is absolutely necessary, as well as ample philological training and patience in the collection and verification of the written material, a recognition of style in antiquities, and insight into the meaning of inscriptions. Probably no one at the present time combines all these qualifications, and as yet they cannot be replaced by authoritative information at second hand. But never was there so much activity in Egyptology, nor so many workers aiming at a high degree of accuracy in copies and translations of inscriptions and in archæological observation; never were there so many paths of investigation opened up. When the specialists have had their say, and the main points are agreed upon, it will be easier for the historian to cover the field. A few years will probably see a great solidification of knowledge on these lines.

Egyptian archæology has been treated by Maspero in a separate work, which was translated into English by the late Amelia B. Edwards in 1887. The English version, again, has been revised and re-edited, the fifth edition being issued in 1902. It forms a handy volume, well illustrated. Archæology is a wide term, but even if it be restricted to the arts and crafts, as is the case in this volume, the material for its study in Egypt is abundant enough. For four thousand years at least pagan Egypt produced works of art in a variety of materials. The art of glazing was discovered in the prehistoric age, very likely as an accompaniment of metal-smelting; some of the examples dating from the early periods are artistic,

but there is little delicacy of execution before the rise of the New Kingdom. El Amarna—the magnificent but short-lived capital of the heretic king Akhenaten, who attempted to abolish the Egyptian gods, and for a time substituted the sole worship of the sun-god—has yielded the most exquisite specimens of glazed ware. Flinders Petrie, in his excavations near the ruins of the palace, found the site of a factory where moulds abounded for little pendant beads and buttons of the most varied and exquisite forms; and in many cases the objects moulded could be fitted to the matrices in which they were made.

Glass-making is not yet traced beyond the eighteenth dynasty. A scene that is very commonly sculptured or painted in early tombs has long misled archæologists. A group of men is figured as seated round a furnace and blowing through canes, on the ends of which are bottle-shaped objects; this subject has very naturally been taken to represent glass-blowing. But archæological exploration has shown that glass-blowing is an art that came in first about the time of the early Roman emperors; previously to that, glass vessels were first moulded, and then, if the rough portions that had been in contact with the mould were intended to be seen, they were ground to a fine bright surface. A closer examination of the ancient scenes in question proves that the men are really only blowing up the fire through hollow canes, the ends of which are protected from being burnt away by a thick mass of clay. Bellows were apparently, like glass, an invention of the New Kingdom. The primitive smith of India or Central Africa is, in this respect, ahead of the Egyptian in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. But in the tomb pictures of the eighteenth dynasty we see powerful bellows, worked by hand or foot; and the human lungs are spared the task of blowing the furnace, though the goldsmith softens his tiny wires and beads and scraps of metal with the help of a blowpipe.

To return to glass-making—Petrie found the whole apparatus of the eighteenth dynasty workman at Tell el Amarna—crucibles, frits, glass rods of different colours, amber, blue, white, yellow, red, and green—ready to be fitted or wound together in the most varied combinations, and an abundance of fine fragments of saucers, bowls, bottles of different shapes, pomegranates and the like,

finger-rings, scarabs, and heart-shaped pendants. Whether this delightful art of glass-making was invented in Egypt or introduced from Syria or elsewhere, is one of many problems which await solution. Where glazing was so much employed one might expect glass also to have been invented.

A chapter on the prehistoric antiquities of Egypt has been added to Maspero's work by the editor of the fifth English edition. It has already been pointed out how recent is our knowledge of that period. But a few months back a brilliant French exponent of architecture, M. Auguste Choisy, published an essay on the art of building in ancient Egypt* which provides the material for another chapter as important as any in Petrie's 'Archæology.' To solve the problem how the Egyptians, apparently destitute of all but the most elementary mechanical contrivances, built the pyramids, conveyed obelisks and colossi weighing hundreds of tons, and set them upright on their bases, set up columns and laid huge architraves upon their capitals sixty feet above the ground, is to answer the question perhaps most frequent in the minds of intelligent travellers of all classes in Egypt. The solution provides a key to the engineering mysteries of Nineveh, of early Greece, of Stonehenge, or Carnac in Brittany, as well as of the great monuments of Central America; and even now it may be of service to the European engineer in situations where labour is cheap and machinery unattainable.

Many attempts have been made to explain how the Egyptian builders worked. Flinders Petrie has set down many excellent observations on individual cases that have come under his notice, and, doubtless, could tell us much more if he chose. Commander Barber, of the U.S. Navy, recently discussed the subject of the movement of colossi, and illustrated it to some extent from mediæval and eastern sources, in a little book, 'The Mechanical Triumphs of the Ancient Egyptians,' which, though far from accurate, deserves attention from those who wish to get some insight into the problems involved. But the great clearances of rubbish which encumbered the sites of important Egyptian temples have produced a

* 'L'Art de bâtir chez les Égyptiens.' Paris, 1904.

quantity of new evidence; and the repairs and restorations carried out recently, more particularly those at Karnak, have fixed the attention of M. Legrain and others on these problems.

M. Choisy's work is a *tour de force*. He appears to have no special knowledge of the literature of Egyptian archæology, and very little of the land of Egypt. But he must have had the opportunity of examining certain great brick walls and important monuments at Thebes and elsewhere, and he has made the best possible use of his opportunity. Indeed, no man could be better fitted to attack the subject in this way than M. Choisy, the learned and highly original author of the '*Histoire de l'Architecture*,' and of important monographs on classical and Byzantine architecture. His writing is a marvel of lucidity and compactness. In 137 pages of short terse sentences M. Choisy contrives to take the reader through the whole subject, with scarcely a single demand on any technical acquirements, and leaves him with the impression that he is qualified to apply, without further preparation, for the post of architect to Cheops or Queen Hatshepsut. But this confidence is hardly justifiable, especially when we realise that M. Choisy sometimes travels outside the range of his own observations, and then may adopt a view which is contradicted by the facts. The theory of the growth of the pyramids by successive envelopes added as long as the king reigned, can only apply, if at all, in a very few cases. The book is but a nucleus, to be supplemented and occasionally corrected; but, whatever may be its faults, M. Choisy has grasped the truth convincingly time after time, and has illuminated the subject to an extraordinary degree, so that his book is certainly one of the most important contributions to the technical side of Egyptian archæology that has been made of late years.

In a tomb of the Middle Kingdom at El Bersheh is depicted the transport of a statue of alabaster, thirteen cubits high, upon a sledge; and at Deir el Bahari we see an obelisk conveyed from the granite quarries of Elephantine to Thebes on a huge barge towed by a fleet of vessels. These scenes afford a glimpse of Egyptian engineers at work. It is a characteristic instance of Choisy's extreme compression and neglect of details that

his diagram of the former shows the monument being dragged as a merely outlined block (in accordance with his theory) instead of as a finished statue, which is the condition actually represented in the picture. Quite possibly the artist departed from the realities in order to make his subject more perspicuous; but M. Choisy might have warned the reader of the liberty taken with the picture. He is content to refer to it as 'une peinture d'El Bersé' (*sic*), giving no clue as to where a reproduction of it can be found; nor does he mention either the height or the material of the colossus, both of which are given in the inscription,* and are of importance in the discussion. Such defects are distinctly unfortunate.

Stupendous as are their achievements, there is no sign that the Egyptians possessed any but the simplest mechanical contrivances, such as the lever, sledge, and roller. The chariot was introduced little, if at all, before the New Kingdom; and such progress in invention as the chariot wheel implies was not at the disposal of the builder of the Great Pyramid. Pulleys were first introduced into Egyptian building probably in the Roman period. M. Legrain has lately discovered the use of a peculiar wooden cradle or rocker, models of which were laid in the foundation deposits of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari. By first tilting and then returning it on to a sleeper, the rocker could be made to rise step by step, carrying with it a block of stone, up to several tons weight, laid on the top; a firm platform was, of course, built up for the rocker by additional sleepers after each rise. The leverage required for this operation was quite small. Each rise from sleeper to sleeper would be of a few inches only; but at about five feet, if not before, the workmen would require a fresh footing for themselves. The platform of sleepers also would then reach a height that might risk collapse; the rocker was therefore dragged forward on to a step. The remains of a rubble or brick ascent, which was in use when the unfinished western pylon of Karnak was abandoned by the builders, still show steps about five feet high. Evidently the rockers may be identified with Herodotus' μηχαναὶ ξύλων βραχέων πεποιήμεναι

* The entire scene is reproduced in 'The Tomb of Tehutihotep at El Bersheh,' by P. E. Newberry and G. W. Fraser, published by the Egypt Exploration Fund.

by which the stones of the Great Pyramid were raised from stage to stage. The great architraves and monuments of colossal size required different handling; they were raised by multitudes of levers simultaneously applied, then packed and levered again continually until the required height was reached. Inclined planes and stairways were constructed on an immense scale for dragging, levering, and rocking. The interior of the great temples seldom gave space for separate stairways or ramps by which the stones could be raised to the tops of walls and columns; the necessary height was therefore reached from outside, while the interior space was filled as a solid platform of rubbish, rising with the stages of the building and burying it; until finally the temporary structure and the rubbish were cleared away from the stones, and the completed work stood out in monumental grandeur.

Choisy shows how an enormous obelisk could be levered horizontally until it rested over its intended base on a high bank of rubbish, and then supported while the rubbish beneath was cleared away, giving room for it to be swung on its centre to the vertical and adjusted with nicety, and without risk of injury, to its base. For the final adjustment of all great blocks and monuments a most ingenious and yet most simple use of sandbags of two sizes is postulated, and actual evidence of their employment adduced. We have not space to detail Choisy's brilliant theory, most creditable to the Egyptian intelligence, explaining the undulating courses and other puzzling features of the vast brick enclosure walls of fortresses, cities, and temples, or the effects of the parsimony in scaffolding owing to the scarcity of wood, or his exposition of the brick arches and vaultings; but if these few paragraphs induce our readers to go to Choisy's work we think that they will be grateful to us.

It is obvious that Egyptian archæology is to be studied not only in the actual surviving examples, whether buildings, monuments, or small antiquities of all kinds, but also in the depictions of the scenes, and—scarcely less important—in the hieroglyphic or pictorial writing itself. Here we have thousands of tiny pictures of human beings in various attitudes or holding various instruments, of animals and birds of the country, of buildings, vessels, symbolic staves, musical instruments, and what

not. Many of these, when their form and meaning are properly ascertained, are very instructive; but, even in elaborately executed inscriptions, they are generally conventionalised, for the sake of neatness, simplicity, and symmetry, to a degree that makes them of less value than the corresponding figures more freely drawn in scenes. To trace the connexion between a hieroglyph-picture and the idea or word or sound which it conveys is often interesting and suggestive; but the matter requires much further investigation in the more difficult and more interesting cases in order to decide between alternative explanations. While the excavator works with his spade and notebook, the copyist has before him a task no less important in putting on record, in true facsimile, the sculptures and paintings that are liable to perish from exposure to the atmosphere or to the greed of native and foreigner in search of tit-bits for collections. Several memoirs are published annually, chiefly by English workers, containing nothing but the records of systematic excavation and copying. From such memoirs archæology must be built up, even more than from the collections in museums and the monuments in place.

The piety of the Egyptians was the characteristic that struck the Greeks and Romans most forcibly; the grotesque forms which it took gave rise to much scoffing amongst the wits, and the religious fervour of the pagans found a worthy sequel in the austerities of the Christian anchorites. Yet devotion to the gods was, perhaps, not a permanent feature of the Egyptian character; or, if it became so, it took a long time to develope. During the Old Kingdom we find the care of the tombs occupying much time and attention; but the figures of the gods seem to be confined to the temple sculptures. The scenes in the tombs are of a worldly character, depicting the daily life of the deceased as superintending or contemplating the tasks of the peasants in agriculture, boat-making, weaving, carpentering, and the like. It is suspected, however, that the figuring of these scenes was intended to enable the dead man to re-enact them again and again, so that his life after death would be the perpetual recurrence of situations in which he took a leading place with pleasure during his life on earth. This explanation appears prob-

able; but, whether it be correct or not, the scenes represented are altogether earthly. Texts inscribed on the coffins and in certain chambers give a rather more spiritual view, but are mostly spells to preserve body and soul from attacks, and to make the latter perfect in the train of the sun-god in the sky or of Osiris in the under-world; thus the whole range of the universe was to be laid open for the enjoyment of the dead.

Under the New Kingdom we find large sections of the tomb decorations devoted to scenes of a purely religious character, and to funerary ritual. By the time of the twenty-sixth dynasty such alone are admitted in the tombs, with only very rare exceptions. The body is at the same time covered with amulets in gold, hard stone, or other materials, consisting of figures of deities, scarabs, and sacred emblems of many varieties. We can hardly expect, perhaps, to ascertain whether there was really much superstition and belief in their efficacy, or only a feeling that what was customary, or had been promulgated under the sanction of the priests, was still worth trying. Certain it is that, at all periods, the magic texts are very carelessly copied, so that passages are constantly met with which are quite unintelligible until all the variant readings are compared—and this, too, when the accompaniments are of the most gorgeous and costly description. Such carelessness in matters of religion does not imply much confidence in the efficacy of its practices.

The older documents of Egypt, so far as we know them, represent the gods as beings to be worked upon by magic, but seldom treat the subject with much fervour. Adorations and hymns are scarcely to be found before the New Kingdom. The gods seem to be regarded as beings apart from humanity, who, however, can greatly influence the fortunes of human beings, especially after death. There was magic also for disease, and for procuring love, and for other affairs of life; and sacrifices to the gods for safety and victory are recorded in a few rare instances. But the most remarkable hymn of praise and thanksgiving known from the Middle Kingdom is addressed, not to a divinity, but to the king, who, indeed, was looked upon as divine in his office, and as a kind of living mediator between God and man. Hymns to the divinities at that period are rare and brief, and belong

probably to quite the end of the Middle Kingdom. With the New Kingdom we find evidence of a more fervent religious feeling; hymns to Osiris, the god of the dead, to Re, the sun-god, to Hapi of the Nile, and other great gods and goddesses are common enough.

It appears that the beneficent and wonderful power of the sun especially drew the adoration of the Egyptians. No other object of worship was so obvious and so potent. The sun reigned everywhere; even when the Egyptian passed far from the Nile into Syria, or upon the sea, where his other gods would seem powerless and out of place, the sun still reigned in the heavens; and the fact that the sun's reign was somewhat less brilliant elsewhere than in Egypt would only confirm his belief that his own country enjoyed the special favour and protection of the god. In other lands, to be sure, though often obscured by cloud and storm, he still ruled high above them all, and was unchanged when they passed away. Thus the sun came to be looked upon as the embodiment of the mightiest gods of Egypt.

But the conquering Pharaohs were not prepared to devote themselves entirely and directly to the sun-god, Re of Heliopolis, in the north. They had gained power in their own southern land under the favour and protection of their city-god, Amon of Thebes; and the wealthy priesthood of the capital found a convenient way of making Amon a world-god by identifying him with Re, the sun. Thus the king acknowledged Amon as accompanying and watching over him in his most distant journeys under the form of Amon-Re. This assimilation took place first in the Middle Kingdom; and 'Amon-Re, king of the gods,' was the favourite and mightiest form of the national god throughout the long period during which Thebes was the capital of Egypt, with only one break of about twenty years. Amenhotep IV, descendant of the line of conquerors of the eighteenth dynasty, was devoted to the arts of peace. His mother may have influenced his opinions; at any rate she was highly honoured by her husband, Amenhotep III, and her son. The latter, inheriting an empire in Syria, was something of a cosmopolitan and a philosopher. He must have seen the endless confusions and contradictions of Egyptian beliefs, and probably recognised the tendency to tack local creeds on

to the worship of the sun. Early in his reign he seems to have intended to exalt to the first place the Egyptian sun-god, Re, under one of his titles, 'Horus in the horizon.' He began a temple at Thebes to this selected *avatar* of the deity, but seems to have allowed other cults to continue for a while in full vigour. In his sixth year he dropped all the conventions of the old religion; he now called the sun-god Aten, this having been a solar name of no religious import previously, and he abolished utterly the worship of Amon at Thebes, erasing the very name of that god from the monuments.

He did not proceed quite so violently against other deities, but very probably suppressed their worship. For his own name, Amenhotep, meaning 'Amon is satisfied,' he substituted the very descriptive term Akhenaten, 'devoted to Aten,' and abandoning Thebes, which was polluted by so many years of Amon-worship, founded a new capital on a virgin site at the modern El Amarna, in a broad sandy plain fronted by the river and backed by cliffs. Here quickly rose a splendid palace, one or more temples of Aten, and the villas of wealthy courtiers, with offices of the administration and dwellings for artificers of every kind; while gardens were laid out, kiosks built, trees planted, and ornamental ponds dug for lotuses and fish. The rock-cut tombs of the courtiers at El Amarna are full of representations of the Aten disk, its rays ending in hands which accept the offerings and bless the royal family. The king appears as the prophet and leader in the worship of the Aten, accompanied by the queen and his daughters. Hymns to the sun are inscribed in the tombs; but to the king, the son of the Sun, is given a position of only less importance than that of the god himself.

So long as King Akhenaten lived, and for a few years afterwards, this monotheism held sway, upheld by the royal power as established in its brand-new capital, but repugnant to the ideas and interests of the population, at least in every traditional centre of religion. Then, enlightened and genuine as it was, it fell; it had persecuted Amon, and now in its turn it was utterly rooted out, the king's figures and cartouches being defaced on the monuments, as well as the figures and names of the Aten; and Amon was substituted for Aten

in the name of the king's surviving daughter, now a queen. The magnificent city known as Akhetaten, 'horizon of the sun,' was abandoned entirely; Thebes recovered its former brilliancy; and the old religion resumed its wonted sway. Whether the heresy left any permanent mark upon Egyptian religion is not certain, for though solar hymns henceforth are much more prominent than they ever were before the heresy began, the tendency must have been present before Amenhotep IV broke out into his magnificent monotheism. The priesthood abominated any such radical change; the common people were not ready for it; and its brief supremacy may have left the development of their religion almost if not quite untouched. In a moment the realism of Akhenaten's worship of the sun disappeared, and a fantastic and dreary mythology again held sway.

The cult of animals is a notable feature of the Egyptian religion. It was not altogether foreign to Greece and Rome, yet its practice in Egypt struck Herodotus and the Hellenistic writers as something quite exceptional. The bull, Apis, was a god at whose advent the whole land rejoiced; and at his death it was plunged into mourning. It is represented that every individual of the different sacred species of animals was sacred. At its death it was ceremoniously buried; if intentionally slain, the penalty was death; if unintentionally, the punishment was to be fixed by the priests. There is every appearance of the reverence for animals having increased vastly in very late times. But many species apparently received no worship at any time. Of these, the camel was of very late introduction, probably not earlier than the seventh century B.C.; the horse seems to have been first employed in Egypt about 1600 B.C.; the ass, however, was employed in thousands from the most remote time as the one beast of burden, and yet was never worshipped. It may be said that an animal that was habitually urged on by blows could hardly become an object of reverence. But in early times probably only one individual of a species was received as an embodiment of the deity representative of the powers of that species; and a fine spirited ass had as good a right to be adored as a jackal or a shrewmouse.

The absence of this notable and useful beast from the list of sacred animals is therefore a fact of great interest. How far the cat and dog were sacred in early times is quite obscure. Multitudes of their mummies have been found, dating back a few centuries B.C. In earlier days it is probable that the wild jackal or the fox and the lioness or leopard were the sole types of Anubis and Bubastis. But the 'patient ox' and the ram, at any rate, were worshipped.

Prayers are frequent on the monuments from the New Kingdom onwards; in earlier times magic takes their place. Close and personal devotion to a particular deity seems to be a comparatively moderate development. It often led to such extravagance of language as to give the worshipper, for the time at any rate, the attitude of a monotheist, seeing in his god the originator and upholder of all things. Some writers have held that the Egyptian religion grew out of an original monotheism, and that, for the inner circle, monotheism was the recognised basis of religion. The origins of Egyptian religion still need much investigation, but it is not likely that research will lead to the discovery of primitive monotheism. On the other hand, a monotheistic feeling is visible outside the formal religion. The didactic papyri of proverbs and morality, such as the 'Instructions of Ptahhotep,' practically never cite a deity by name, but refer instead to Nuter ('god'). This might be in order that the observations should have universal application whatever deity was worshipped by the reader of the work; but, however we try to interpret the term, whether as 'God' or as 'a god,' it is invariably in the singular, and implies at least an underlying feeling that, contrary to the temple doctrines, the essential attributes of divinity were alike for all gods.

Of the myths of the Egyptian gods we know very little. There is an abundance of mythological references in the religious texts; and Plutarch's account of Isis and Osiris has given the clue to very many of them, although it is clear that his myth is but one of several widely differing varieties that existed alongside each other as the growth of ages. About other gods we gather myths but slowly; nor must we expect to reconstruct consistent stories about one god after another, for myths quickly

change, are half abandoned or newly threaded together; but some features once acquired are apt to be permanent, and an intelligible collection of these would be a boon.

The ritual of the temples has lately been the subject of a special memoir by a French Egyptologist, on the strength of texts from Thebes, Abydos, and other centres of religion. There is much sameness about them all; they consist of dreary formalities, and words to be spoken at the different acts of the priest when he daily opens the temple, approaches the shrine, offers incense to the deity and again withdraws. He coaxes or adjures the door of the shrine, the bolt, the lamp, the wick, and the flame, with almost as much formality as the deity himself. Some short hymns are interspersed, adding a touch of life and reason, but most of the language used is highly mystic. The mode of sacrifice in the temples is described with minuteness by Herodotus, who, among other things, says that the head of the victim was cut off, and all evil that might be about to fall on the sacrificer was laid upon it; the head was then cast into the river, unless it could be sold to some profane Greek; and Herodotus adds that no Egyptian would eat the head of any animal. This may be true of Herodotus's day, but there is every sign, in the sculptures of tombs and temples, that the head was a tit-bit for gods, ancestors, and men alike in earlier times. The victims, according to Herodotus, were burnt, and there are clear signs in the late texts of the prevalence of burnt offerings, while we have no evidence whatever of them from the Old and Middle Kingdoms beyond the offering of incense.

Several books have been devoted to the subject of the Egyptian religion. Professor Maspero has published some admirable though rapid studies of special groups of texts in reviews of publications. The material is immense, especially in the way of the traditional texts, which date from a remote age and have come down to us chiefly in very bad copies. The earliest known are contained in the pyramids. Discoveries of sarcophagi of the end of the Old Kingdom and of the Middle Kingdom are daily adding to the bulk; the Book of the Dead is derived in part from this series, largely supplemented in the eighteenth dynasty and later. Much is still quite untranslatable, and little has as yet been really interpreted. There is a

vast field here for investigation. Meanwhile there is plenty of detail known in certain directions as to the names and forms of the deities, and many texts have been published in such a way as to afford grounds for general views upon them. Hence we have works like Wiedemann's 'Religion of the Ancient Egyptians,' which has been translated into English; Professor Sayce's Gifford lectures; and Dr Budge's two large volumes about the Egyptian gods. Such an abundance of books of a popular kind is a sign of the interest which the public takes in Egyptology.

To Professor Sayce we look for views and suggestions rather than for collections of facts. Of his Gifford lectures, delivered in 1902, one half was devoted to the religion of Ancient Egypt, the other half to the religion of the Babylonians. They now form a most readable and interesting volume. The importance of these studies as illustrating the growth of religion and religious feeling, and the connexion of religion with morality, is well brought out. Professor Sayce warns us of the extreme difficulty of getting at the real beliefs which underlie the words and formulas of ritual, or exist in the minds of a people in spite of them; but he perhaps hardly realises the difficulties which present themselves to Egyptologists in translating the religious texts. These texts are full of obscurities and corruptions; and, even when they are straightforward and easy in the light of the latest grammatical discoveries or of special research, they are often entirely misrepresented in the current translations. Probably the same is the case in regard to Babylonian religious texts, which the author admits to have been little studied as yet. The consequence, however, is that, though a specialist may approve of the spirit of the book, and enjoy the picturesque presentment of the subject offered by Professor Sayce, there are few statements to which he can give his unqualified assent, and there are multitudes from which he would dissent entirely. The hymn to the Nile, of which a supposed rendering is given on p. 141, is practically untranslatable. Its subject is easily recognised, and the class of laudatory sentences of which it is composed is clear enough; but few of them yield a definite meaning owing to the corruption of the text.

The careless treatment of Egyptian words and names

by those who profess Egyptology has led the author into pitfalls. The goddess of the ancient capital of the south country was Nekhebt; in the book she is called Nekheb; but this is really the name of her city, now El Kab, on the east bank, from which the goddess's name, meaning 'she of Nekheb,' is derived. In his general discussion of the gods Professor Sayce fails to note instances in which their ancient names are taken from localities, although they must have an important bearing on their land of origin and primitive character. Besides the vulture-goddess of Nekheb, we know well enough the 'god of Behedt' (Edfu), the sun with vulture wings so often seen on the porticoes of temples; Thoth or Thôout means simply 'him of Thut,' the district round Hermopolis in the Delta. He is sometimes an ibis, less frequently, and perhaps later, an ape. The relationship of the two forms of Thoth still remains to be investigated, but double forms are constantly met with in Egyptian mythology. A less celebrated name, but even more important mythologically as belonging to a deity of human form, is the 'god of Anzet,' Anzet being the marshy district of Busiris in the Delta. He was figured as a king holding the emblems of earthly sovereignty and wearing a peculiar head-dress, which perhaps denotes fecundity; and he is almost certainly Osiris.

In discussing the Egyptian word and symbolism for 'god,' Professor Sayce mentions only one hieroglyph, the well-known sign which in outline resembles an axe, but in detail is a roll of cloth. Professor Sayce takes the view that it is an axe-fetish, sometimes (why sometimes?) wrapped in linen. It is easy to interpret the picture differently; and as yet we have no other indication of an axe being sacred in Egypt. Although this sign spelled the words 'divine,' 'god,' etc. (root *NTR*), from the remotest times, there is evidence that, whatever it represented pictorially, it obtained its power of symbolising divinity (apart from spelling the *NTR* group of words) only at a comparatively late date. Two signs which symbolise divinity, in the strict sense of the word, in the early part of the Old Kingdom are, (1) a hawk upon its perch, i.e. the tame sacred hawk of the temple, and (2) a man wrapped in a robe and with a peculiar pointed beard, possibly figuring an ancestor of the prehistoric times.

Neither of these remarkable signs is mentioned in the book. In these lectures we have the theories of the foreign derivation of many of the earliest known deities strongly reiterated. To identify Hathor, a goddess of beauty and love, with Istar is enticing, but it is by no means certain at present. Yet it seems the most probable identification yet brought forward.

In a chapter on the sacred books of Egypt, Professor Sayce supplies an analysis of the 'Book of the Dead,' in which he endeavours to give some indication of its composite character as containing elements from different schools, the predominating element being Osiris-worship combined with doctrines from Heliopolitan sun-worship, and others derived from the Hermopolite and Memphite schools. The 'popular religion' he illustrates chiefly from much-garbled myths, which would seem to have been made for the people rather than to have arisen from the people.

Each year brings fresh evidence on which new views and theories can be built. These are often interesting and may possess some elements of stability; but they remain only views and theories, held by some few bold spirits, venturous enough to theorise or to hold definite opinions. But to make any substantial advance requires painstaking special research and division of labour. If the copious texts of the Pyramids were retranslated and thoroughly discussed by one competent scholar—for instance, by Professor Sethe of Göttingen—and if another were to undertake those upon the coffins of the Middle Kingdom, which contain many chapters of the 'Book of the Dead,' it would then be possible to do serious work on the celebrated 'Book of the Dead' itself, with its Psychostasia, its Negative Confession, and other notable conceptions, tracing some of its origins in the earlier texts, its irregular growth in the New Kingdom, and the final selection and arrangement of the chapters in fixed order at or about the time of the twenty-sixth dynasty; finally, such parts of the book as are intelligible in the copies might be definitely translated. But years of hard work by good scholars are required for all this. The work hitherto done on the 'Book of the Dead,' from Champollion's day onward, though fruitful, has been only of the nature of preliminary skirmish-

ing, Professor Naville's collection of the texts of the New Kingdom being by far the most substantial contribution to its study.

Dr Budge has recently published two large volumes on the Egyptian gods with the sub-title 'Studies in Egyptian Mythology.' The latter seems to promise an attempt to advance the subject for specialists. To Dr Budge, as keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, we should be justified in looking for original studies of great value, based on the great national collections placed in his charge. But his enormous range of acquirements, it must be confessed, seems to leave him satisfied with a very moderate though wide acquaintance with Egyptian; and, while works from his pen succeed each other with astonishing rapidity, they show little sign of the patience and reserve that are required to make them permanently useful. They may be very serviceable for the moment to the general public, and useful to scholars as rough indexes of material; but they will be cast aside the moment the same subject is dealt with in a more serious vein. We fear that 'the Gods of the Egyptians' is no exception.

These volumes are large and handsome, but the contents are very disappointing, considering the high position of the author. They are, doubtless, far beyond the powers of an ordinary compiler. A vast mass of information is accumulated round the subject of Egyptian religious conceptions and the names of the individual deities; but a glance at the translations, which Dr Budge has the courage to set alongside the original hieroglyphics, is enough to show how little confidence can be placed in the present work in detail. The publisher's circular drew attention to the coloured illustrations—'about one hundred plates, each of which is printed in eleven colours.' Here was an opportunity for valuable contributions to science; and the high price of the book might well have been justified. But the illustrations are evidently only for the use of those who had no previous knowledge of typical forms of Egyptian deities. Some few are good, and are easily recognised as taken from the splendid papyrus of Any, the only fault to find with them being that they are somewhat hackneyed; others are from rough outlines in Lanzzone's dictionary, here decked to taste in a really

painful gaudiness of 'eleven colours'; others, we are informed in the preface, are copied from papyri and coffins in the British Museum. But in no individual case is the source or age of the picture stated; many are ugly in pose and un-Egyptian or strangely base in feature.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, English readers, probably even English scholars, will be glad to have this detailed account of the Egyptian deities, profusely illustrated as it is. There has not yet been published, even abroad, so full an account of the facts recorded in the pictures and the texts. Lanzzone's 'Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia' was compiled before the religious writings of the Old Kingdom had been at all put under contribution; and the amount of material subsequently collected is prodigious. Dr Budge shows himself able to cope with a large part of the new texts in a summary way; and the critic can only wish that such remarkable talents and industry had produced work of greater precision. The full index will greatly facilitate reference to the book; but it is difficult to see what purpose is served by printing in the body of the text enormous lists of obscure divinities, named in the 'Book of the Dead' and similar sources, especially when no references are given to the passages where they occur in the original.

On considering the vast and rapidly growing bulk of material of every kind to be dealt with and digested, the main requirement of Egyptology, whether archaeological or literary, seems now more than ever to be accuracy of observation and of interpretation, which also means distinguishing clearly between fact and conjecture. If leading scholars would bear this steadily in mind, we believe that their books would be either fewer or smaller, and that each contribution would mark a definite and positive step in the advance of knowledge. In this way—we submit the suggestion with all respect—science and the world at large would reap a double blessing.

Art. IV.—EUROPEAN THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century.
By John Theodore Merz. Vols i and ii. Edinburgh and
London: Blackwood, 1896, 1903.

How often has that serene and lofty boast of the youthful Francis Bacon been quoted, that he 'had taken all knowledge to be his province'; and how often has the reflection been added, that no man in the present day could make such a boast, by reason of the continual enlargement of the contents of knowledge, the multiplication of its branches, and the growing intricacy of its principles. That there is some truth in such a reflection it is impossible to deny; for it will confer distinction on a man if he extends the bounds of even a single science by original fruitful insight. A few men of genius, of whom Thomas Young is in England the most remarkable example, have made important discoveries in two quite distinct sciences; but to enlarge all the many branches of knowledge is a sheer impossibility for an individual mind.

But there is a sense in which it is not now, and never will be, an impossibility for a man to take all knowledge for his province. The separate sciences, astronomy, botany, chemistry, and the like, are not wholly separate, even when they appear to be very remote from one another. Astronomy, linked with physics, announces to us the doctrine of the cooling of the earth after ages of incandescence, and thereby gives a historical starting-point for geology; geology informs us of ancient animals and plants whose remains are embedded in the earth's strata, and thereby gives a historical starting-point for zoology and botany; zoology and botany conduct us, on the one hand, to the consideration of those wonderful historical changes in the forms of living beings, to which the name of evolution is generally applied, and, on the other hand, to the science of microscopic physiology, which tells us that the essence of corporeal life lies in the simple form of the living cell. Physiology in its turn is deeply implicated with organic chemistry, which tells us of the need of oxygen for the blood, and phosphates for

the bones, and iron to make the blades of grass and the leaves of trees green; and organic chemistry leads us to inorganic chemistry, with its far-reaching inferences as to atoms and molecules as the first elements of all material things. The atoms of matter are in incessant vibration; and this fact leads us immediately to those subtle vibrations of the illimitable ether, extending through all space, wherein lies the secret cause of the light which gladdens our eyes; the theory of light is closely connected with the more mysterious subjects of electricity and magnetism, and with the all-pervading influence of heat. Sound, again, is an instance of another kind of vibration, less subtle, physically speaking, scarcely less important for human happiness.

But geology again leads us, not only to the primæval animals, but to primæval man; and herein lies the beginning of a new kind of knowledge entirely; for primæval man is connected by distinct steps with those ancient civilisations which are the first type of the civilised life which we know; and thus there come before us, in regular gradation, governments and civilisations, arts and sciences, philosophies and ideals; whence it is that the whole world of matter and mind is revealed as a complex many-coloured texture, fading away into the mysteries of an unimaginable past, and into the glories of a far-off future. In all this great order there is no single part which does not stand related to all the other parts.

Now by reason of this cognate character of the various branches of human knowledge and thought it is possible for a single mind to obtain command of certain leading principles which run through the whole; and thus one man may legislate for universal knowledge, determine what is best in it, make clear the leading currents of it, and derive the subsidiary streams from the point where they flow forth for the satisfaction of some special human need. Philosophy is the name of the task so delineated; and philosophy can never die. But between the philosophy of one age and the philosophy of another age there will be natural differences, resulting not from the truth or error that there is in either, but from the needs of mankind in either age. Socrates judged rightly in his day that the conscience of man was the element

which of all others most needed bringing into clearness and sanity; but to say this is not to condemn Bacon, who, two thousand years later, poured out the wealth of his imagination in commending the common earth, our home and nursing-ground, as the most fruitful theme to which the human intellect could devote itself. Not only is philosophy subject to this blameless variation, but great discoverers in some single realm of science have occasionally a power akin to that of the philosopher; and Copernicus, Newton, and Darwin, in each case by a single theorem, effected great revolutions in the general tenor of men's thoughts.

But the progress of human knowledge has brought into existence another kind of inquirer, who, equally with the philosopher, takes all knowledge for his province, and who yet does not seek to guide thought as the philosopher does. This is the historian of thought, whose office it is to confirm the possession of mankind in the provinces which have been already won. The historian of thought is like the organiser of means of communication, the road-maker by whose efforts the transit from one branch of knowledge to another is rendered easier; the lessons learned in one province are transferred to another, the differences of soil and climate (if we may use such metaphors) are known, whereby true analogies may be noted and false analogies avoided.

Such an administrator and organiser of communications, such a roadmaker and assigner of landmarks in the provinces of thought is Dr Theodore Merz, whose two volumes on the 'History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century' are named at the head of this article; and he appears to us to be in one respect of rare excellence, in the thoroughness, namely, with which he goes to the roots of each successive branch of science, and (without any theorising on his own account) explains the ultimate point which has in each case been attained by the ablest inquirers; so that he presents his readers, not merely with the individual results of science, but with the keys to those results. He is much more than a recorder of successive scientific discoveries; he brings into the foreground that unity of conception which all great scientific discoverers have aimed at and partly attained; he exhibits the different sciences as having

a natural order and succession. Moreover, though the two volumes which Dr Merz has so far published relate to science alone, and indeed complete the history of scientific thought, he promises to continue his history in those regions of thought which have not the exactness of physical science. From many indications in these volumes we are sure that he has the spiritual side of human nature at heart; yet he never in any one case, we believe, fails of perfect impartiality in representing the conclusions of those thinkers who have generally the reputation of being materialists.

We propose in the present article to take Dr Merz's work as our basis, but to go somewhat beyond it, so that we may briefly consider this great question: Are the methods of physical science so universal in their application as to exclude that spiritual way of viewing things which religion has always put in the forefront—the view, namely, that a purpose larger than human purpose animates and directs this whole order of things in which we live; that there is such a thing as spiritual strength, not to be discerned by any external contemplation of physical things, yet governing and guiding physical forces to ends in which our spiritual nature may take delight, ends of increased happiness and energy? Those who have studied the recent progress of physical science will be aware of the extraordinary ability with which the greatest possible problems have been attacked; the problem, for instance, of the formation of the sun and stars; or again, the problem of the structure of matter, living or non-living, in its minutest portions, and of the ways in which this structure has been built up; but such students will also be aware that the tendency of physical philosophers and of men of science has been to discard from their speculations all idea of mind directing matter on any large scale, or with any penetrative influence, in the formation of this splendid and wonderful universe. Yet are we not all, and men of science quite as much as the rest of us, every day trying, by means of our minds, to govern the material world? Is not every seed of corn that is sown, every railway bridge that is built, every pound of gunpowder that is exploded in mining operations, an instance of the directing power of mind, render-

ing matter subservient to uses of life, growth, and energy? Where are we to put the limit to this directing power of the human mind? And if the human mind in this small terrestrial sphere is so powerful, is it not possible that mental power, in ways quite inconceivable by us now, may have operated in the formation of the whole structure of this visible universe?

But of course it is to be admitted that our knowledge of the operations of mind lags far behind our knowledge of the operations of matter at the present day. We attribute this backwardness of the mental philosopher, as compared with the physical philosopher, to the intrinsically greater difficulty of his subject; above all, to the obstacles which hinder the comparing of mental or spiritual experiences. It is much easier for us to be certain of what it is that our neighbour sees than of what it is that he feels; when we point the telescope to a starry cluster, or the microscope to the wing of a fly, we all see much the same thing; but if we wish to know the principles which actuate our neighbour in the different parts of his conduct, that is a very much harder thing to be sure of. This greater difficulty, however, in spiritual philosophy is no reason for supposing it to be of less fundamental importance than physical philosophy; rather, perhaps, the reason goes in the reverse direction. Only, the explanations of ultimate causes with which physical philosophy, or, in other words, the science of the present day, supplies us, must be candidly estimated; if there are gaps in such explanations, the gaps must be noted; then, if it appears that such gaps may possibly be filled in from the spiritual side of thought, there will be reason for asking mankind to have a little patience, and not to think the backward state of spiritual philosophy a reason for discarding it altogether.

It is necessary to note impartially both the present great successes of physical science and also the gaps, the incomplete or obscure passages, which still exist in many parts of it. Of the successes, Dr Merz's volumes are full; and very striking is the ordered series which he displays. Let us briefly recount it.

The greatest of all scientific discoveries, even down to the present day, is the discovery by Newton of the law of universal gravitation—the law according to which

every material particle in the universe exercises an attraction over every other particle, diminishing as the distance between the particles increases, and in the inverse ratio of the square of this distance. No other law has been proved true over so immense an area with such absolute certainty.

'For a time,' says Dr Merz (vol i, p. 341), 'the exact formula of gravitation seemed liable to some correction, but gradually the apparent anomalies disappeared. . . . It still stands there as the only universally accepted mathematical expression which corresponds to a general physical property of natural objects.'

Again:—

'In the whole wide range of physical and chemical, not to speak of other natural phenomena, there is probably no instance of a simple mathematical relation having been applied to so large a field of facts, found so trustworthy a guide, and been so unflinchingly verified.'

A discovery of such surpassing magnitude implies corresponding greatness in the mind which conceived it and convinced the world of its reality. The patient reserve of Newton, and his love of truth, were as rare as his intellectual power. He published the theory of gravitation in 1687; and, from that date until the era of Laplace (who occupies the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth), scientific reasoners were mainly engaged in developing and proving this theory. To Laplace and his contemporaries it appeared likely that gravitation would be shown to be the true root-force from which all other natural forces have been derived. Such an expectation was not absent from the minds even of nineteenth century thinkers; but the tendency of recent thought has been against it, and the present opinion rather is that gravitation is the result of deeper causes than itself. Yet, even taking this to be the case, what a wonderful field of knowledge this discovery has opened out to us! Dr Merz calls that view of nature which centres itself in the law of gravitation the astronomical view, and with reason, for it finds its principal exemplification in the motions, and partly also in the

form, of the heavenly bodies. From the time of Hipparchus, the 'father of astronomy,' down to Laplace (a period of nearly two thousand years), all the reasonings of astronomers may be said either to have been a preparation for this theory, or a derivation of the consequences of it. For the discovery and elaboration of so great a principle as the law of gravitation, two thousand years were not too long a time.

But already, in the lifetime of Laplace, a new theory was coming to birth, a theory not inconsistent with the law of gravitation, but independent of it, running side by side with it, without intermingling, and having, equally with the law of gravitation, a certain fundamental aspect. This was the atomic theory of the constitution of matter, a theory which had been in an imperfect manner conceived in ancient times by Epicurus, and advocated by Lucretius in his great poem, but which, in the field of experience, has its main basis in the science of chemistry. The atomic view of nature is a view concerning the forms and combinations of the smallest particles of matter, a view which must be considered in itself and for itself; but it is impossible to forget that it has profound connexions with the kinetic view of nature, which is concerned with the motions of the smallest particles of matter, as the atomic view is concerned with their forms; and equally impossible is it not to suppose that both views have alliances with the physical view of nature, which treats of the ultimate cause of motion, and therefore, probably, of the ultimate cause of form, a cause described in one word as energy. All these three views deal with the infinitesimally small rather than with the infinitely great, and therefore in some measure stand in contrast with the astronomical view of nature, which has the infinite abysses of space in its contemplation; but the contrast is not absolute, for the infinitely great and the infinitesimally small are in some respects very nearly related to one another. Still it is not altogether an untrue opinion that the eighteenth century had the infinite regions of space under its contemplation, the nineteenth century rather those infinitesimal differences which exist through all space, but which are most observable in the things closely adjoining to us on the earth's surface.

Let us briefly explain each of these fundamental aspects of nature; and first, the atomic view.

Not long after the tragical death of the great Lavoisier (the founder, as he may be called, of modern chemistry), slain in the madness of the French Revolution, it began to be known in Germany that chemical substances would only combine, each with each, in certain definite proportions of their respective weights. For instance, 63 parts by weight of copper will combine with 32 parts by weight of sulphur, and make a single mass in all respects as homogeneous as the copper and sulphur themselves; but nothing will induce a sixty-fourth part of copper to join this chemical combination. The sixty-three have obtained perfect satisfaction, and their sixty-fourth brother seeks not to disturb that satisfaction; if he did seek to do so they would resolutely reject him. Moreover, all chemical substances behave in the same way; a certain number of parts by weight characterises every substance when it enters into combination with other substances; 63 is the number favoured by copper, 32 by sulphur, 16 by oxygen, 39 by potassium, and so on. Richter was the main discoverer of the principle so far; the knowledge of it was carried across the Channel to England, where it fell under the notice of John Dalton, a chemist of Manchester. Dalton corrected, enlarged, and interpreted the principle. He corrected it by the discovery that if you have found what is the number favoured by any substance (the atomic weight, as it is called), a multiple or submultiple of that number will in certain cases act as well as the number itself. Thus, to give an example, you may mix 14 parts of nitrogen either with 8 parts of oxygen, or with 16 parts of oxygen, or with 24 parts of oxygen, each compound, when made, being a definite and separate chemical substance; and it is clear that the numbers 8, 16, 24, and so on, stand to each other in relations of a very simple proportion.* Further, Dalton enlarged the principle by showing that the number which characterises every chemical substance (its atomic weight) is a permanent number, into whatever relation the substance may enter; for it might antecedently have

* See that remarkably lucid work, Liebig's 'Familiar Letters on Chemistry,' Letter, vi.

been thought that though copper combines with sulphur in the proportions of 63 to 32, yet when copper combined with some other substance it would enter into the proportion, say, of 61 parts to 30. Dalton showed that this was not the case; that, on the contrary, the number which fixes the atomic weight of any substance is unalterable, with whatever other substance it may combine. Take an ounce as the unit: you will never get any combining power in 61 ounces of copper when mingled with oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, or anything else you please; the combining power lies only in 63, or some multiple of it. Similarly, in potassium the combining power lies only in 39 parts of it (or more strictly 39.2 parts); all these numbers being fixed by comparison with hydrogen, the lightest of all known substances, whose atomic weight is therefore called 1.

Dalton having thus corrected and enlarged the doctrine of definite proportions, proceeded further to interpret it, and his interpretation was the celebrated atomic theory or atomic view of nature; for he asked this question: What is there in the constitution of matter which causes these numerical relations to be obeyed with such persistency? And he answered: It can only be because every substance is composed of atoms, each atom having a certain definite weight, and an atom of one substance may conceivably unite with an atom of another substance, or two atoms of one substance with three atoms of another substance, and so on; but the intrinsic weight of the particular atom must always be a factor in such combination; the atom cannot be broken up.

The naturalness of the theory is obvious; but, of course, it was distinctly theory, and not observation, and the absolute correctness of it has never been as fully recognised as the correctness of the law of universal gravitation. Indeed, if the affirmation that an atom cannot be broken up be taken absolutely, it must be said that we have quite recently obtained reason to affirm the contrary; for has not experience shown that the simple substance radium can be decomposed into helium? and this can only be because the atoms of radium are capable of being decomposed. And has not Sir Oliver Lodge recently told us that an electron roams about in an atom like a mouse in a cathedral? a saying which is not easy

of interpretation if an atom be a finally undecomposable unit. Fifty million average atoms laid end to end will about measure an inch, so it is believed; whereby the magnitude of an electron, to which an atom is as a cathedral to a mouse, may be dimly conjectured.

Notwithstanding all these doubts, however, it may yet well be that the material of our planet, whether solid, liquid, or gaseous, is, in a true sense, composed of atoms of specific character, diverse in weight; and very carefully does Dr Merz go through the evidence which has convinced chemists that the fact is so. We cannot follow him into these details; but one of the elements of the proof is sufficiently curious to be quoted, and it will be not less interesting from the fact that Pasteur was the discoverer of it.

'That pure geometrical relations . . . are of importance in the chemical composition of substances was very evident, for instance, in some of the optical properties of crystallised organic substances. The discoveries of Pasteur, published in 1850, mark in this respect an epoch in science. He showed that there exist chemical substances which are different, but only as a right-hand glove differs from a left-hand one, a right-handed screw from a left-handed, the image in a mirror from the original. Was it possible to suppress any longer the conviction that the smallest particles of matter, in forming chemical compounds, do so not only in definite proportions of weight, but also in definite geometrical distances and positions?' (Merz, vol. i, pp. 431-2.)

Let us then be content to say that the atomic theory is true, with the reserve that it is not necessarily ultimate truth. It is, as we have said, a theory respecting form, not a theory respecting motion; and yet motion is involved in the first conception of it. When the atoms of oxygen unite with the atoms of hydrogen to form water, they rush into each other's embraces as if they were animated beings—as indeed Professor Haeckel says they are. But what makes them do so? It was at first a not unnatural supposition that they were obeying the law of universal gravitation; and certainly they show more signs of obeying that law than those brilliant stars, Sirius and Vega, do, for all the self-glowing orbs of heaven (save only the binary stars) are seemingly quite

impassive to each other's attractions, so far as any observation of ours goes. Yet, on the whole, it is probable that the ardent unions, and equally ardent revulsions, of the atoms obey some more subtle, more primary, law than the law of gravitation; at any rate the study of the elemental motions of ether or of matter has not taken the form of a study of the sequences of gravitation, but quite another line. That line is what Dr Merz calls the kinetic view of nature.

Chemistry is the science which deals with elemental form. How are the sciences named which deal with elemental motion? Chiefly the sciences of light and heat, electricity and magnetism, sciences full of the suggestion of mysterious power, full, too, of a variety which might almost be called picturesqueness, though they do not submit themselves to any pencilling of the artist. In what does the essence of these sciences consist? In what—to put the same question in other words—does the kinetic view of nature consist? In this, that all things are represented by it as subject to a perpetual thrill; a strain is on the whole frame of things; and from this thrill, from this strain, from this quivering and shaking of all things that are, comes the light of our eyes, the hearing of our ears, the scent of the lily, the flavour of the grape; from this strain and quivering also, when it is gathered into single currents or single channels, comes our power of wielding the great motive forces which create what is called civilisation, the complex material framework under the protection of which men live. Nothing that we know of is free from this quivering and this thrill and this strain; that which we carelessly call the empty void of space, the incalculable distance between star and star, is full of it, and bears to us by means of this thrill the light and the heat which are so precious to us, and perhaps other influences besides light and heat less sensible but not less real. The hard masses of rock deep buried beneath the surface of the earth are subject to this thrill, as we know from the messages which earthquake shocks send to the sensitive instruments of the observer by whom they are registered; and even in the profoundest rest of material things it is believed that their atoms whirl round and round continually.

Great are the names of those men of science who have dealt with this subject, and have more or less reduced it to rule and measure. Perhaps, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Young and Fresnel, who jointly established the wave theory of light, must be regarded as pre-eminent; in the middle of the century Faraday, whose achievements lay in the region of electricity and magnetism; more towards the close of the century comes the versatile and powerful genius of Helmholtz, side by side with whom must be named Lord Kelvin, who happily is with us still. But in naming these how many explorers of the very first order are we leaving unnamed? It is unavoidable. But it is refreshing to find that the profoundest of these thinkers have felt in each other's expositions something of that same difficulty and perplexity which ordinary men feel, and have arisen out of it by the slow exercise of patience, and by mutual help, as is apparent from the following words of Helmholtz respecting Faraday, which Dr Merz quotes both in his first and in his second volume (they are from the 'Vorträge und Reden,' vol. ii, p. 277):—

'Since the mathematical interpretation of Faraday's theorems by Clerk Maxwell has been given, we see indeed how sharply defined the conceptions are and how consistent the reasoning which lay concealed in Faraday's words, which, to his contemporaries, appeared so indefinite and obscure; and it is in the highest degree remarkable to see how a large number of comprehensive theorems, the proof of which taxes the highest powers of mathematical analysis, were found by him without the use of a single mathematical formula, by a kind of intuition with instinctive certainty. I would not depreciate Faraday's contemporaries because they did not see this. I know myself too well how often I sat hopeless, gazing at one of his descriptions of lines of force with their numbers and tension, or looking for the meaning of statements where the galvanic current is regarded as an axis of force. . . . A single remarkable discovery can indeed be brought about by a happy chance . . . but it would be against all rules of probability that a numerous series of the most important discoveries, such as Faraday produced, could have had their origin in conceptions which did not really contain a correct, though perhaps deeply hidden, ground of truth.'

Helmholtz could afford to make such an avowal.

The sciences of electricity, magnetism, light, and heat have been abundantly utilised by men. By their aid we have trained the sunbeams to be our artists, the lightning to be our messenger and carrier; we have found out what the stars are made of. If those vibrations and strains which constitute the forces of electricity, magnetism, light, and heat were taken away from our world we should for all practical purposes be annihilated. What is it which supports these forces? Are we secure against the possibility of their annihilation? With these questions we pass from the kinetic view of nature to the physical view of nature.

The answer which physicists give to the above questions is peculiar. On the one hand they say all the forces known or conceivable by us—gravitation, chemical forces, electricity, magnetism, light, and heat—are forms in which a single energy displays itself. They can be changed into one another; for instance, heat may be expended and lost and mechanical motion produced in its place, though in practice a certain amount of heat inevitably escapes; or again, by a certain amount of mechanical motion we may produce heat, the energy which produced the mechanical motion being thereby lost to us. The energy which disappears in one form reappears in another form; and a measurement of the two shows that the energy lost on the one side is always equal to the energy gained on the other side. The quantity of energy in the universe never alters; the conservation of energy is the underlying principle of all the forms, of all the changes, in the universe.

Taking this view of things, the question naturally arises: What determines the special changes in the forms of energy? And the physicist answers: Without seeking to answer this question in every case, it may be answered in one case, and that the greatest known to us. The brilliancy and heat of the sun and stars have been caused by the change of gravitation into heat and light, the gravitation having had play in the contraction of the nebula, which was the first form of the solar system, and of every stellar system, and the heat and light having been caused by the stoppage of the gravitational force through the mutual collisions of the ingathered masses of the nebula. This is the final form of the nebular hypo-

thesis, first thought of by Kant, developed by Laplace, and reduced to precise form by Helmholtz. Dr Merz, we observe (vol. ii, p. 360), hesitates to accept theories of this kind as certain; but there is a large general acceptance of the nebular hypothesis at the present day.

So far it may seem that the doctrine of the conservation of energy is a doctrine concerning creation; energy has been shown to us as the cause of the greatest splendours of the material world. But we have yet to look upon the other face of the doctrine. Energy, Lord Kelvin tells us, has a perpetual tendency to be dissipated, degraded, locked up, rendered unavailable for practical purposes. For instance, when the ingathering of the mass of matter which constitutes the solar orb has been completed, when the contraction of that orb has reached its final point, and the particles of it no longer collide with one another, no longer produce heat and light by their collision, then the fires of the sun will cool down, and all the life that is on the earth will die as an immediate consequence; energy, no doubt, will remain the same in amount as before, but partly it will have been converted into heat, and dissipated in a low form over vast tracts of the surrounding space, partly it will have been locked in the dead sun and planets, hidden and inextricable.

Such is the final conclusion of the physical view of nature. The processes of argument which lead to this conclusion are carefully given by Dr Merz (though the full conclusion is rather hinted than described); and no one can doubt that the argument is a strong one. The physicist seems at first to describe creation; he ends by describing a state of universal death. Is he right in saying that this will be the end of all things? We believe that, in spite of the real cogency of the argument as descriptive of physical forces, the case is precisely one where the intervention of spiritual energy and design does make a difference. We will endeavour, before the close of this article, to show how this is; but the point is not strictly a part of physical science, and it does not enter into Dr Merz's volumes, and so we pass on to his other chapters.

From the sciences which deal with inorganic matter (or with what we generally call inorganic matter) Dr

Merz passes to the sciences which take, in one way or another, living organisms for their subject. The connecting link between the two lies (as we observed at starting) in geology; and Dr Merz is aware of this, for he indicates the intimate connexion of geology with morphology. The passage is worth quoting for the sake of the lucid explanation which it gives of what morphology is. The 'natural philosopher' referred to in it is Domenico Gulielmini, who lived in the early part of the eighteenth century.

"Nature does not employ all figures, but only certain ones of those which are possible; and of these the determination is not to be fetched from the brain, or proved *a priori*, but obtained by experiments and observations." These words, set down nearly two centuries ago by a now forgotten natural philosopher, express clearly the object of a study which, towards the end of the eighteenth century, had received definite expression in various branches of natural science, and which can be best characterised by the term morphology. The word was first applied only to plants, then also to animals, and later still to crystals and minerals. The words quoted above refer to the forms of inanimate nature, to crystals. In all these cases we have to do with definite individual objects, which can be removed from their surroundings and examined in the laboratory. There is, however, no reason why a study of the actual forms of nature on a large scale, such as the physiognomy of landscape, the configuration of mountains and valleys, the shapes of glaciers, the actual distribution of land and water on our globe, the stratification of rocks, the formation of clouds, and many other things, should not all be comprised under the term, the morphological view of nature.'

Excellently put. But why is Dr Merz, after pointing out so clearly the position of geology among the sciences, so chary in the information which he afterwards gives us about it? We perceive the reason, but we cannot think it adequate. Geology is not a science which deals with the deepest causative elements in the universe; and the object of Dr Merz is to trace the main lines of thought, and therefore the deepest causes in nature. Even if this be admitted, geology is so central among the sciences, and touches upon so many causes outside its own field, that it surely deserves full consideration on

its own account. Why, for instance, does Dr Merz assume that, in the controversy between the physicists and the geologists as to the age of the earth, the physicists have all the right on their side, the geologists none? It is a controversy on which we should be slow to express a final opinion; but the question involved is important, and the geological case ought to be considered. The only inquirer in this field to whom Dr Merz renders full justice is Alexander von Humboldt; and Humboldt was only partly a geologist. To Sir Charles Lyell he certainly does full justice in his relations to the theory of evolution, but not in his relations to geology. He mentions Elie de Beaumont and Leopold von Buch once each, and very casually; Murchison and the Geikies not at all.

We complain of an omission, which we trust Dr Merz may some day remedy. Otherwise we find no fault with the chapters which deal with the morphological view of nature, the genetic view of nature, and the vitalistic view of nature. A great progress of thought is brought before our eyes, a progress in which a new way of looking at the universe was attained—the universe of life, be it well understood. All through the first half of the nineteenth century (and, indeed, from the days of Linnæus and Buffon in the eighteenth century) the classification of living organisms, vegetable or animal, was more and more assiduously carried out, differences and similarities (often strangely interwoven) were more and more noted; the names of Cuvier and Richard Owen as regards animals, of De Candolle as regards the vegetable world, are perhaps the greatest in this special work. Meanwhile, minute and often microscopic researches into the structure of all living substance, animal or vegetable, had been instituted by Bichat in France, and continued by Schleiden and Schwann in Germany. An identity of type was more and more felt to prevail in the substance of all living organisms, and this identity of type could not but have some influence in commending the idea of a common origin from which all life had descended. Indeed, at the very beginning of the century, Lamarck had propounded the view of a common origin for all living things, crudely, it is true, and without bringing conviction to the world; and, though neither Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire nor Von Baer explicitly adopted this view,

yet both these authors were deeply impressed with the thought of the unity of all terrestrial life; and, shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century, Herbert Spencer propounded the doctrine of evolution as the key to all changes in phenomena, though without explicitly naming the descent of living organisms from a common stock as an instance of it.

That step, which gave us the key to the whole doctrine of evolution, was taken by Charles Darwin, who, in the whole of this great progress of thought, holds the central position. Darwin's famous work, 'The Origin of Species,' was published towards the close of 1859; it will be worth while to quote here the full title of it: 'On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life.' That title contains the two cardinal words, 'natural selection,' which constitute the great distinction between Darwin and his predecessor Lamarek, and the great instrument by which Darwin convinced mankind of his main doctrine, the derivation of different species by descent from a common stock. That natural selection plays a very great part in this descent, and in the gradual modification of the form and structure of animals, has not been doubted by thoughtful and unbiassed students since Darwin wrote; but how far other elements have conjoined with it, either as principal or as subordinate causes, is to this day a moot point among naturalists. The question is one which does not concern naturalists alone; it is, indeed, of supreme interest to all of us to know how far spiritual emotions and energies have combined with material causes in producing the world of life as we see it. To this subject we proceed; but first let us say that no one treating of evolution ought to omit, in connexion with it, the names of Alfred Russel Wallace, who discovered the importance of natural selection, as explaining the origin of species, simultaneously with Darwin, or, if somewhat later in time, at all events independently of Darwin, and before Darwin's views had been published; of Huxley, who did so much to popularise the new conception; of Haeckel, who contributed to fill up the details of Darwin's view; and of Weismann, who has endeavoured (not with entire success, but with force) to introduce an important modification into that view.

But we hasten to that question which, as we have said, is of supreme interest, the question whether spiritual causes have co-operated with material causes in the production of the living world as we know it. First, we draw attention to the following sentence, quoted by Dr Merz (vol ii, p. 318), from Lyell's 'Principles of Geology':—

'The intermixture of distinct species is guarded against by the aversion of the individuals composing them to sexual union.'

That sentence, as originally written by Lyell, was intended as an argument against the theory afterwards named Darwinian (the transformation of species), which Lyell only knew in the form in which Lamarck had presented it. When the 'Origin of Species' appeared, Lyell became a convert to the theory; and we are now using his sentence, not as an argument against Darwin, but as an assistance towards explaining a difficulty not always noticed in Darwin's theory. It must be remembered that Darwin, for the full establishment of his theory, has to explain, not merely the method by which one part of a species separates from the rest, namely, the acquisition of some advantageous point of structure in the organism, but also why, after this separation has arisen, it is not merged again by the natural intercourse of the two parts of the species with each other. That is to say, it has to be explained why, if an improvement is effected in one part of a species, the whole species does not presently share in it, the weaker portion either dying out, or else, by intercourse with the stronger portion, transmitting the improvement to their common descendants. Clearly, if one species has split up into two species, there has been a portion of the original species which neither accepted the improved structure or faculty nor yet died out for the want of it; and this result can hardly have taken place if all the members of the original species retained their habit of mutual intercourse with each other. What, then, can have occasioned the interruption of this intercourse? The reply which Darwin gives to this question in the 'Origin of Species' is based in the main on the supposition of a separation of locality between the improved and the unimproved parts of the

species; he does not, however, wholly exclude other causes, as will be seen from the following sentence ('Origin of Species,' first ed. p. 103):—

'I can bring a considerable catalogue of facts showing that, within the same area, varieties of the same animal can long remain distinct, from haunting different stations, from breeding at slightly different seasons, or from varieties of the same kind preferring to pair together.'

These last words, 'from varieties of the same kind preferring to pair together,' are an assignment of the same reason for varieties remaining separate as Lyell had given for species remaining separate. Only, whereas Lyell overstated the case in regarding the separation of species as absolute, Darwin understated (as we think) the force of this particular cause in keeping varieties separate. Consider what happens at the present day. In the United States of America white men and negroes are parts of the same community; they are not different species, but they are different varieties of man; some intermingling of white and negro blood exists, but it does not go very far; the races are on the whole separate. What keeps them so? It is not separation in space; and of all the causes indicated by Darwin only one applies, namely, that 'varieties of the same kind prefer to pair together.' But is this an adequate statement of the fact? is there not an actual aversion to these unions, at least on one side? Undoubtedly there is.

Now if this is so at the present day, what reason have we for thinking that this cause of separation did not exist in all periods during which animated beings have existed on the earth and propagated their species sexually? There is nothing abstruse in the cause indicated; dislike of the alien is one of the commonest of feelings. If this be so, we have a genuine instance of emotion, a psychical cause, intervening from very ancient times in the world of life and modifying the forms of it throughout.

Is this not a significant fact? But it will be well to answer a question which will naturally be asked, whether the theory just advanced has been put forward by any naturalist before now, apart from that brief hint of it contained in the phrase we quoted from Darwin? To some extent it has; for instance, it occurs

in a passage in that interesting and powerful writer, G. J. Romanes ('Darwin and after Darwin,' vol. iii, p. 124). He calls it 'psychological selection,' and he attributes to it importance in the evolution of the higher animals, but there only; in particular, he will not allow that it has any operation at all in the evolution of plants. Now to us this limitation, which to Romanes seemed so necessary, appears to arise from the simple fact that we know something about the operations of mind in animals (especially the higher animals), but hardly anything about the feeling which exists in plants. Is it inconceivable that plants should feel? Surely not; and therefore we hold that the limitation which Romanes thought to exist is a limitation in appearance and not in fact. The great cause which Romanes alleges for the separation of species is what he calls physiological selection, that is, the occurrence of a certain barren strain separating the two divided parts of a species, which divisions are nevertheless separately fertile. His arguments on this head appear to us conclusive; but it may well be that physiological selection on so large a scale, if we knew all, does really in effect imply psychological selection also as its spiritual counterpart.

We come to a wider question. The whole of the tenth chapter of Dr Merz's treatise, entitled the 'Vitalistic View of Nature,' is devoted to the consideration of the varying views of biologists on the question whether there be such a thing as a vital force in the living organism? Our own opinion is what we understand to be that of Lotze, and we state it as follows: that, so long as the physical organism alone is under observation, no such specific entity as a vital force is discoverable, though the processes are not calculable by any combination of physical laws; but that when the emotional element inherent more or less in all life is taken into account, we are in possession of a new kind of cause which illuminates for us many of the leading processes and changes in the physical organism, though there may be a great deal in this spiritual causation which we do not know, and much even which we are incapable of understanding. That is to say, for a full analysis of what happens in the region of life we must take into account sympathy as well as

observation. But biologists, taking the purely physical sciences as their model, have desired to rest upon physical observation alone; there has been a tendency among them to eliminate all idea of 'purpose' from the subject of their inquiry; and it so happened that Darwin's theory appeared to give them great assistance in doing so. How this came to be is thus explained by Dr Merz:—

'We are now prepared,' he says, 'to understand the novel position which the Darwinian conception of natural processes introduced so far as the teleology of nature is concerned—how it dealt with final causes, with the apparent existence of a purpose, an end, in the processes of nature, notably of the living organism. . . .

'The possibility of explaining the marks of design as merely apparent depends on the conception of the genetic process acting on a large, a gigantic, scale; individual things put forth ever new developments by which they eventually overtop their neighbours, ultimately advancing to such a degree of excellence and individual perfection that to an outside beholder the few surviving specimens give the impression of having been originally designed. In fact, they only exist because those numberless individuals which could not grow in a sufficient degree perished in the struggle. Only those individual specimens survived in whom, in one or a few directions, something specially excellent was produced at the expense of development in other directions. In the mass, the crowd are sacrificed, i.e. automatically crushed, in favour of the few; in the individual, one special growth is automatically pursued at the expense of a general but less enduring, i.e. self-assertive, development. The end—the seeming purpose—is produced in the process of production, it being merely something more enduring, i.e. something better. It conveys the impression to an outside beholder of having been consciously set at the term of the process of development; in reality, it was produced simultaneously. The mountain peak which towers above its neighbours, and gives a distinctive rounding off and finish to a landscape, may be conceived as having been built up by the selective action of the natural artist who brought together the best materials and placed them in their most enduring positions; in reality, it owes its existence only to one out of the numberless throes of nature which happened to take place with stronger materials and in more stable forms of arrangement and grouping, or it is due to the denudation of the strata surrounding it. The end and purpose of any natural development is that which it can itself

automatically produce and endow with most distinctive and enduring characters, for this only survives at the expense of weaker productions; there is a natural result in development, but there need not be a purpose. The contemplation of the result may permit us to trace backward the process by which it was brought about; but we are not warranted in assuming that it existed independently, like the plan of a building or the purpose of an instrument. In the place of a growth according to a prearranged plan, Darwin put the conception of an automatic adjustment called "natural selection"; in the place of a conscious end or purpose he put the conception of a mere result, a product, the "surviving fittest."

That is an exceedingly clear statement of the effect which the doctrine of natural selection produced in the minds of many biologists; and the sense of relief and of triumph engendered by the supposed abolition of any 'purpose' underlying the universe was vividly expressed by Du Bois-Reymond (quoted by Dr Merz, vol ii, p. 435).

'Here is the knot, here the great difficulty that tortures the intellect which would understand the world. Whoever does not place all activity wholesale under the sway of Epicurean chance, whoever gives only his little finger to teleology, will inevitably arrive at Paley's discarded "Natural Theology," and so much the more necessarily the more clearly he thinks and the more independent his judgment. . . . The possibility, ever so distant, of banishing from nature its seeming purpose and putting a blind necessity everywhere in the place of final causes, appears therefore as one of the greatest advances in the world of thought, from which a new era will be dated in the treatment of these problems. To have somewhat eased the torture of the intellect which ponders over the world-problem will, as long as philosophical naturalists exist, be Charles Darwin's greatest title to glory.'

An extraordinary passage, surely. Would Darwin have accepted the position assigned to him by the German savant? We hardly think so. For Darwin, while continually refuting allegations of discovered design in creation, yet refused to say, looking at the sum of things, 'There is no design herein.' This position of his, which is not inconsistent with the 'Origin of Species' itself, receives some illustration from his recently published letters. In a letter to Professor W. Graham ('Life and Letters,' i, 315), while denying that 'the existence of the

so-called laws of nature implies purpose,' he had said, 'You have expressed my inward convictions . . . that the universe is not the result of chance.' Again, in a letter to Lord Farrer ('More Letters,' i, 395), after refusing to allow of the 'variations of organic beings having been designed,' he continues, 'On the other hand, if we consider the whole universe, the mind refuses to look at it as the outcome of chance, that is, without design or purpose. The whole question seems to me insoluble.'

We wish to do all justice to that train of merely physical sequences which has been so carefully drawn out by Dr Merz; to the possibility that out of the infinite variations of circumstance a world may arise in which the strongest, from the very fact that they are the strongest, shall appear in the end as the governors and lords of the whole; so that all need of a directing power among the contending forms of life shall be superfluous. But this possibility is not to be treated as a certainty; the room is open for causes other than those of a physical struggle.

It is of course one thing to affirm that the Darwinian theory leaves room for the belief in a creative purpose animating this whole scheme of things in which we find ourselves, and guiding beneficently the world of life in its upward progress; another thing to affirm that such a creative purpose is discernible by us, and positively exists. Only, the field on which such a question must primarily be argued is not the field of biological science, it is the field of personal experience in the ordinary conduct of life. Do we find that the belief in a higher than human power strengthening and directing us tallies with the experience of life? That is the question; and though it does not belong to physical science, it may still have a certain pertinency as regards the results which physical science would suggest when taken by itself. A biologist may not unfittingly remember that he is also a man, and that it is possible for him, as a man, to draw conclusions which could not have been drawn from biology pure and simple, but which intermingle with and modify the conclusions reached by him as a biologist.

Perhaps that is enough to say on the Darwinian question. But let us recur for a moment to the position of the physicists, with Helmholtz at their head. That there

is truth in those great hypotheses in which the physicists entrench themselves—the conservation of energy, the dissipation of energy, and the formation of the solar and stellar fires by the slow contraction of nebulae—we do not for a moment doubt. But is it the whole truth? If in such mighty matters there ever was occasion to use the word scandal, the theory of the dissipation of energy, with its consequences, is surely a scandal. That the universe should be destined to eternal death and darkness (even if it be only ‘after infinite time,’ as Helmholtz says) is surely an inference that must excite in us the question, ‘Is this really a necessary result of the processes which we see?’ Let us consider. The crux is the dissipation of energy—the phenomenon which Clausius calls the increase of entropy, that is, the process of the locking up of energy, the rendering it useless, unavailable.

‘The entropy of the world is continually on the increase,’ Clausius tells us. Is it really so? and if it be so, is there no way of mending it? What does ordinary experience say? Why, every idle vagabond who gets drunk seven days in the week is full of this dissipated energy; every river of Arabia or Persia which has swept together the sands which clog its course and finally bury it is an instance of energy locked up; every forest destroyed by fire is a store of energy lost to human uses. But is there no remedy for these misfortunes? Let us reform our drunkard; let us clear a course for our river; let us replant our forest, and something will have been done to restore lost energies, or to bring new energies into play. These are small matters, it is true, compared with the creation or death of a universe; but from the infinitesimals of the world we have to judge of the infinities of the world; so it always is. If we, in our small sphere, can repair the wastes of earth, may there not be powers which can repair the wastes of heaven? Is it certain that the fires of the sun are doomed to extinction? It is not experience which tells us so; it is theory which tells us so, and theory which deals simply with material causes and leaves wholly out of sight the question whether purpose and forethought have not some field of operation, as in earth, so also in heaven. Are we so certain that purpose and forethought (existing in a manner inconceivable by us, it

is true) have no function in the preservation of the orbs of heaven? May there not be powers which, as we men may clear a channel for a river, are capable of clearing a course for the sun's radiant heat, so that it shall not be choked up in the inertia of an everlasting death?

The physicists themselves tell us that energy can never be destroyed, only they say that it cannot help being dissipated or locked up; but is it not the function of all others most proper to mind to prevent this happening? Nay, is it not natural to think that the very meaning of creation is the greater and greater revelation of hidden powers? Suppose (to take one of the most probable losses that may befall the race of man) that in the course of the next two or three thousand years the world's coal supply should be exhausted; is it irrational to hope that other sources of latent energy may by that time be brought to light which to us now are as unknown as the manifold uses of coal were to the contemporaries of Julius Cæsar? We cannot prove that this will happen, of course; but why should it not happen? why should not the future history of the earth be the continual development of new energies which, up to the time of their discovery, were hidden and unsuspected? and why should this process ever end? If, out of what seems the pure void of ether, suns and galaxies of suns may arise—as astronomers assume that they can—who shall say what latent energy there may be in every grain of the earth's dust? Only it is the mind of man which must elicit this hidden energy of the earth; without the mind of man coal would never have given to steam or electricity their working power; and, whatever energies of terrestrial things may be turned to use in the future, it is the mind of man that will turn them to use. The mind of man is the great practical agent for drawing the earth's stored-up power into continuous and increasing action; and the mind of man receives its stimulus from the emotions of man. Where is it that the emotions of man have their organising centre? We reply, as religious men have always replied, in God. We are co-workers in the creative process which eternally goes on, and that process in its root is divine.

J. R. MOZLEY.

Art. V.—A GREAT FRENCH SCHOLAR.

1. *Histoire littéraire de la France*. Par des religieux bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur, continuée par des membres de l'Institut. Tomes i-xxxii. Paris, 1733-1897.
2. *Romania; recueil trimestriel consacré à l'étude des langues et des littératures romanes*. Publié par Paul Meyer et Gaston Paris. Tomes i-xxxii. Paris: Bouillon, 1872-1903.
3. *Chansons du x^e siècle*, and other works published by the *Société des anciens textes français*. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1875-1903.
4. *La vie de Saint Alexis, poème du xi^e siècle, et renouvellements des xii^e, xiii^e, et xiv^e siècles*. Publiés par Gaston Paris et Léopold Pannier. Paris: Bouillon, 1872.
5. *Manuel d'ancien français—la littérature française au moyen âge* (1888; revised, 1890): *La poésie du moyen âge* (1^{re} série, 1885, 2^e série, 1895): *Penseurs et poètes* (1896): *Poèmes et légendes du moyen âge* (1900): *François Villon* (1901): *Légendes du moyen âge* (1903); and many other works by Gaston Paris.

THE recent death of Gaston Paris was felt as a personal loss by many who had never known him; such was the influence of his character, exerted through the long series of his published works. It is rarely that an author so purely scientific and specialist, so little inclined to court the popular favour, receives such a tribute of regret. The death of a poet or a novelist may touch a number of people all over the world; but the death of a man of learning, whose work was conducted always with regard for the subject, and never with any unfair device to catch applause, can seldom make the impression which that of Gaston Paris made on all who laboured in the same fields. A rare candour and simplicity of aim and procedure made Gaston Paris what he was, and won for him his many friends. The beginners, the half-learned, were drawn into his circle and made partners in his industry, by virtue of the perennial youthfulness of his spirit.

With all his knowledge and all his skill in methods

of work, the product of his long experience, he never grew out of humour with his subject. In freshness of interest, in the keen appetite for learning, he was the equal of the 'juniocest sophister.' This was his genius and his charm. Those who listened or who read had no need to be afraid of any bondage to formulas, any respectable orthodoxy taking the place of freedom. Their master was ahead of them all, pressing forward and exploring; stopping to defend his views only when such a defence was forced upon him as part of the day's work. Gaston Paris was always more ready to discover new things than to dwell upon his former attainments. Not that he had any want of respect for positions which he thought he had secured; his work was too solid for that. Nor did he try to lighten his studies by forgetting what he had once known, and allowing new interests to drive out the old. But new interest was unfailing, wherever he turned. His followers were kept busy; and that was why they followed him.

Gaston Paris, as a child, received from his father the right of entry into the old literature of France, and never lost the simple pleasure in romances and *chansons de geste*, as poems and stories. In his university days, keeping still to the subjects in which Paulin Paris was at home, he added a more exact training in philology under Diez at Bonn. But language did not usurp upon the other province; in Germany there was not yet the division between literary and linguistic teaching which is now generally observed, perhaps inevitably. Diez himself, the historian of Provençal poetry and author of the 'Comparative Grammar of the Romance Languages,' refused to be limited exclusively to one portion of the field; and the work of Gaston Paris was comprehensive in the same way. Although literary history was always his chief interest, he did not neglect what is called in the narrower sense philology. He was not wholly occupied with the medieval literature of France. Problems of linguistic science engaged him, as the pages of 'Romania' show. It may be that division of labour is more and more required for the progress of these studies; it is not easy for any one scholar to speak with authority on matters so various as were handled by Gaston Paris. But no number of specialists can quite make up for the

genius, wide in range and at the same time discriminating, of the old type of great scholars. The acuteness, the finer work, of Bentley or Lachmann cannot well be taken apart from their substantial historical learning. Gaston Paris had the same sort of ideal. Language cannot be understood from words alone; and the emendation of a phrase in an old French text might require the help of wide and miscellaneous reading, far away from the immediate matter in hand. There are obvious dangers for the pure scholar in the attractions of historical research; and it is possible for a narrow man to be more active than one who carries a burden of learning. But the greatest scholars are not 'word-catchers, that live on syllables'; they find it possible to be both strong in the weighty matters and alert with the more subtle problems, as Gaston Paris was.

He learned much from his father, as has been said already, and he carried on his work. Paulin Paris* represented an older stage of interest in medieval French, older methods and views, mainly of the eighteenth century, with some colouring from the romantic school. His manner often recalls that of Scott in his antiquarian essays, e.g. the introduction to 'Sir Tristram,' or, from an earlier generation, that of Warton's 'History of English Poetry.' He writes like a free man, as if it were all for his own pleasure, whatever amount of industry he may have put into his description of *chansons de geste*, or romances of the Round Table, or French lyric poetry of the thirteenth century. He refused to be pitied for the time spent in 'deciphering' old manuscripts.

'Car pour moi je ne demande pas qu'on me sache le moindre gré de les avoir déchiffrés. En effet, combien d'heures ai-je vues passer rapidement en poursuivant cette lecture! Combien de romans du jour et de gazettes ai-je fermés pour étudier plus longtemps ces admirables compositions, images de l'esprit, des mœurs et des croyances de nos ancêtres! Combien de fois alors n'ai-je pas mis un frein à mon enthousiasme, en me rappelant avec une sorte d'effroi l'aventure du chevalier de la Manche! Honnête Don Quichotte! les romans coupables de ta folie n'étaient que de longues paraphrases décolorées des

* 'Notice sur Paulin Paris,' 1881; see also 'La poésie du moyen âge,' I, p. 211 et seq.

"Chansons de Geste"; que serais-tu devenu si tu avais lu les originaux!"*

Yet, deeply plunged as he was in the literature of the Middle Ages, full of knowledge and enjoyment of all the things that appealed to the Romantic school, Paulin Paris at the same time judged his ground with a rational and sceptical coolness, and never forced his admiration or allowed it to interfere with his historical sense. His controversy with Fauriel, over the hypothesis of a Provençal origin for French epic, is still delightful reading for the ease with which he manages the discussion and corrects the too enthusiastic reasoning of the other side. Gaston Paris, with a much severer training, followed the same tradition, and displayed, though in a different way, the same enjoyment of medieval literature, the same good sense in criticism.

Neither Paulin Paris nor his son belonged to the Romantic school, though they passed their time among the books and in the centuries from which modern romantic poets are supposed to have drawn their most effective scenery, properties, ideals, and emotions. Paulin Paris was glad to call the attention of poets to the riches of the *chansons de geste*, but it did not matter to him very much whether they took his advice or not. He had his books, and could use them for his own profit or entertainment whatever the contemporary fashion might be. In spite of the humorous reference to Don Quixote, his very sincere delight in the old heroic poems was never wrought up to the extreme romantic pitch. Like George Ellis, and like Scott himself, he kept a sane estimate of medieval romance. Gaston Paris was equally free from any extravagant romanticism, but not quite in the same manner. It was not the old-fashioned ironical worldliness of the eighteenth century that determined his views and tastes. The second half of the nineteenth century never escaped from the romantic influence, however it might protest and rebel; the realists are all romanticists disguised—'unfrooked,' as Flaubert expressed it. Men of learning were of course protected from the violent revolutions that tormented the poets and novelists; some were drawn to the Middle Ages by purely scientific

* Preface to 'Garin le Loherain' (1833), p. III; quoted by Gaston Paris in his account of his father, *op. cit.* p. 217

motives, with a positive prejudice to begin with against all the 'Gothic' fascinations of the romantic tradition.* But Gaston Paris was not one of these; he had learned from the Romantic school all that it had to teach regarding the Middle Ages and the interpretation of their art; he had gone further on ways of his own, but in his sober judgment of values, even when pointing out the faults, the flatness, the puerilities of medieval literature, he always kept a sense of the old charm, of the magic still recoverable in 'Tristan' and in many less famous stories.

The French Romantic school was not so deep in learning as the schools of some other countries; there was no poet who, like Scott or Uhland, worked hard in antiquarian prose to collect and edit and explain the poetry of the Middle Ages. Victor Hugo's romantic ornament is borrowed from all lands and tongues; a tribute levied on mild historians without respect for their feelings:—

'Écoutez tous, marquis venus de la montagne,
Duc Gerhard, Sire Uther, pendragon de Bretagne,
Burgrave Darius, burgrave Cadwalla!'

Among the lighter essays of Gaston Paris is one (appended to 'Les sept infants de Lara' in 'Poèmes et légendes') that traces in an amusing way one of the medieval inspirations of Victor Hugo: in M. Demaison's introduction to 'Aimeri de Narbonne' may be found the sources of the poet's 'Aymerillot,' showing the same masterful ease and unconcern in turning the most casual knowledge to good account in immortal verse. By which it is not proved, nor intended, that 'Aymerillot' is less poetical than it seems to be; only that Victor Hugo was not a student of the same sort as Scott or Uhland. The Romantic school in France, so far as it dealt with the Middle Ages, was dependent upon the men of learning, and not to any great extent a sharer in their historical work.

Gaston Paris, coming after the Romantic days, carried on the researches that had preceded them. How continuous the labour has been, and how enormous, may be partly realised in looking at the thirty-two volumes of the 'Histoire littéraire de la France,' begun by the Benedictines in 1733, and now brought down, 'vaster than

* Cf. 'La poésie du moyen âge,' i, 213, for the 'conversion' of Victor Le Clerc.

empires and more slow,' as far as the fourteenth century. In that great work the ideas of 1830 may be found here and there reflected, but they are only an accident, a passing radiance; the substantial life is hardly touched by them.

The study of Old French as it is understood by Gaston Paris and his associates and pupils is the same kind of work as the study of antiquity, Greek or Latin, carried on at the time of the revival of learning. They have the same trust in the value of the subject, the same sort of ambition and appetite for universal knowledge, including in its scope everything ascertainable in political or social history, every document of the time, with the most effective instruments of criticism to explain them. Their business is historical, in the original liberal meaning of the term history. The spirit of curiosity about the past is their chief motive; no appliance or apparatus is neglected that can add to the store of knowledge.

In an essay on Gaston Paris written some years ago, M. Jules Lemaitre described the processes of medieval research in terms that might have held good of Browning's Grammarian. Historical learning, he says (and the text of his sermon is the work of Gaston Paris), has no thought of any immediate use for its discoveries; labour is bestowed on minute things, in the faith that some day they may be turned to account. The history of the Middle Ages grows like a coral island, by the aggregated lives of many workers. This is not the whole truth. Few indeed of the contributors to the '*Histoire littéraire*' have allowed the pursuit of knowledge to be hindered or diverted by doubts or scruples about the immediate value of each step. It is in this that the modern scholar, the successor of the Benedictines in their industry, differs from the dilettante of the Romantic school. Many things are included in the '*Histoire littéraire*' and in '*Romania*', that are of no obvious use to the literary artist. It is not on every page that a suggestion like that of '*Aymerillot*' may be found; and a discussion of the terminations in *-ain* has little connexion—much less than '*hoti's* business'—with the inspiration or the interpretation of poetry.

But Gaston Paris thought of more than the accumulation of facts or the working out of historical and philological details. He was a humanist; and his labours were directed by the same ideal as those of the founders of

classical learning. He studied the history of Old French literature, not by way of opposition to the humanities of Greece and Rome, but as an extension of the same domain. He had a full sense of all the respects in which 'Roland' comes short of the 'Iliad,' in which the fluent simplicity of Old French verse is inferior to the Greek art of poetry; yet he believed that the French epics have things to tell worth listening to, and that there is a lesson of style, not only of mythology, in the intricate romances of Arthur.*

His genius as a critic of literature equalled his industry as historian and philologist. Of all his achievements, if not the greatest, at any rate that of which it is easiest to speak outside of the school, is that, in a long series of writings, with every variety of scale and immediate purpose, he has explained the growth of Old French poetry and prose in all their kinds, and has judged their present literary value as securely as he worked out technical points of history or scholarship. It is not everything, but it is the aspect of his work most convenient for this Review, that he was one of the great critics of French literature. His preface to the 'History of French Literature,' edited by Petit de Julleville, is a summary of the whole matter, down to the Renaissance and beyond, written with an insight into general causes such as is often desired but seldom attained in the work of other critics. In the certainty with which the lines are drawn it resembles St Evremond's comparison and interpretation of the French and English genius, probably the most successful piece of generalisation ever made by any writer on such subjects; while the general view is enlivened with exact knowledge of details. This essay explains the peculiar character of the French Renaissance, the reason of the wide difference between the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century in France, bringing out the peculiar character of the fifteenth century—

'une littérature bâtarde, sorte de Renaissance avortée, mêlant les restes de la puérilité subtile du moyen âge à une gauche imitation de l'antiquité latine.' (Preface, p. 9)—

* See for example the comparison of the Anglo-Norman Thomas, the chief authority for the story of Tristan, with his more refined contemporary Chrétien de Troyes ('Poèmes et légendes').

a kind of waste interval, empty, pretentious, at the back of which lay the right medieval poetry, unknown to Ronsard and his companions. Then follows the description of this older literature, in terms that prove its affinity with all that is most characteristic of the French nation in modern times, its talent for clear language, a perfect sympathy and understanding between the author and his audience. From this virtue of lucidity comes also (as St Evremond has remarked in comparing French and English) a certain shallowness; the personages in French epic or French drama are not fully realised; more or less they are abstract, they represent ideas.

‘On chercherait en vain dans toute l’Europe médiévale une œuvre qui incarne comme la “Chanson de Roland” les façons de sentir, sinon de la nation tout entière, au moins de la partie active et dominante de la nation, dans ce qu’elles eurent de plus impersonnel et de plus élevé. De là cette faiblesse de la caractéristique qu’on a relevée dans notre vieille épopée: les individus l’intéressent moins que les idées et les sentiments dont ils sont les porteurs.’ (Ib.)

A similar quality is proved to exist in the other kinds of old poetry, in the courtly romances of the twelfth century, in the fabliaux; Lancelot and Renard, the hero and the picaresque, are both of them, in Old French, rather abstract types.

‘Leurs traits sont d’autant plus significatifs qu’ils sont moins personnels, et se gravent d’autant mieux dans le souvenir qu’ils sont coordonnés par une logique parfaite. Ils gagnent en relief et en clarté tout ce qu’ils perdent en profondeur et en complication. N’est-ce pas aussi ce qu’on peut dire des créations les plus parfaites de notre littérature classique?’ (Ib.)

Then Gaston Paris brings out the peculiar excellence of the romantic poetry of France in the twelfth and thirteenth century, so seldom understood beyond the borders, by the Teutonic nations who imported French novels and adapted them.

‘La tendance à créer des types, plutôt qu’à essayer de faire vivre des individus dans toute leur complexité changeante, n’exclut pas l’analyse psychologique; au contraire. Les sentiments humains sont étudiés en eux-mêmes, dans leur évolution logique et leurs conflits, tels que, dans des conditions données,

ils doivent se produire, chez tout homme défini d'une certaine façon; et ceux qui les éprouvent aiment à se les expliquer à eux-mêmes . . . pour l'instruction des autres. Cette analyse psychologique, la littérature française y a excellé dans tous les temps. On pourrait citer tel morceau de Chrétien de Troyes qui ne le cède pas en vérité, en ingéniosité, parfois en subtilité, aux plus célèbres monologues de nos tragédies, aux pages les plus fouillées de nos romans contemporains.' (Ib.)

Following which comes a note on the 'Romance of the Rose,' 'l'épopée psychologique,' as it were the ghost or shadow of all the sentiment in the school of Chrétien de Troyes, disembodied 'states of mind' moving about as persons in a story. The discussion of French medieval style, after this, is equally sure of its ground, and in the same way impartial; setting down all the common faults, platitudes, triviality, but not concealing the delight with which the critic turns to the ancient writers, nor ignoring the true beauty of their work.

'Mais leur langue n'est pas seulement claire: elle a souvent une justesse, une légèreté, une aisance naturelle qui font penser aux meilleurs morceaux de notre littérature des deux derniers siècles. Ils voient bien et savent dire avec netteté ce qu'ils ont vu; leur parole les amuse et nous amuse avec eux. Beaucoup d'entre eux sont d'aimables causeurs, un peu babillards, qui se laissent d'autant plus volontiers aller à leur verve qu'ils voient que leurs auditeurs y prennent plaisir; d'autres sont d'excellents raisonneurs, qui cherchent sérieusement à convaincre ou à intéresser leur public, et qui y réussissent par la simplicité et la précision de leur exposition; d'autres encore ont su imprimer à leurs discours de la grandeur, de la sensibilité ou de la finesse.' (Ib.)

Gaston Paris himself, in his writing, had that instinctive clearness which he finds constant in French literature; that same regard for his hearers which, in the earliest authors of his nation, as he points out, distinguished the even, plain discourse of the *chansons de geste* from the more high-flown heroic poetry of other nations. At the same time his literary judgment, moving so freely among generalisations, was always based on particulars, a different thing from the peremptory opinions of less patient critics. Popular literary history, working at some distance from its subject, may pronounce that one *chanson de geste*

is just like any other *chanson de geste*. Gaston Paris, with complete appreciation of all the habitual ways, the repetitions, the want of care, the ready use of common forms and stop-gaps ('décourageantes chevilles'), in Old French epic, knew well also that under superficial uniformity there were differences of genius and temper clearly marked; and that to confound Balzac and Stendhal, or Corneille and Racine, on account of their common qualities would be hardly a stronger proof of critical incompetence than (for example) a refusal to distinguish the merits of 'Roland' and 'Raoul de Cambrai.' He treated Old French poetry with the same conscience and the same discernment as the greatest critics have given to the greatest masters. He did not exaggerate the value of his authors; but the fact that they did not belong to the seventeenth or the nineteenth century was for him no reason to treat them under different rules or with less precision.

Perhaps the essays in which he showed his learning and his critical power to best advantage are those on the Arthurian romances, in 'Romania,' and the 'Histoire littéraire' (tome xxx). He had to discover their sources and trace their development—a business sometimes pursued without much regard for qualities of literature. Gaston Paris, studying the transmission of popular tales from obscure Celtic origins to the schools of French poetry in the twelfth century, did not keep to what is called folklore, though this was a large part of his work. It was not enough for him to trace the progress of a fable through different stages, or merely to verify the fact that similar plots, incidents, characters or names were found in different versions, in different languages. Along with this he watched the literary motives of the poets, the influences of fashion or of individual temper that made them change and remould the folklore substance.

An example of his procedure may be found in the description of 'Guinglain,' a poem of Renaud de Beaujeu, in which the simple fairy-tale of 'Li beaux Desconus' is incongruously decorated to indulge the rhetorical and sentimental taste of an ambitious literary man. Problems much more complex are solved in the essay on 'Le Chevalier de la Charrette,' i.e. the 'Lancelot' of Chrétien de Troyes ('Romania,' x, p. 459 *seqq.*). Peculiar insight

and judgment were required to distinguish the shadows in this illusory realm; the result, which proves the dependence of Lancelot on the doctrine of the troubadours, and establishes the relation between the narrative poetry of France and the lyric of Provence, is gained by a masterly use of every available instrument. Historical study of the facts (e.g. of the part taken by Marie de Champagne in bringing Provençal ideas to the north) is completed and enlightened by critical intuition and sympathy.

Another talent is displayed in the short history of medieval French literature. This is a book for the schools, compact and positive, with little room either for eloquence or for historical detail. Yet, along with its serried names and dates, it presents, at the smallest cost of words, a critical estimate of every matter it touches. On a larger scale the 'Villon,' one of the author's latest works, is perhaps the finest example of his powers. In the description of Villon's poetry, and more especially, perhaps, in the account of his poetical education, there is the fruit of a whole lifetime of research and reflection. Villon and his age are shown in their relation to the poetry of the preceding centuries; the decline of the earlier literature, the strange obliteration of the older poetry, the rise and decay of new schools in the fourteenth century, the vacancy and vanity of the fifteenth, are all brought out, in the author's inimitably simple manner, as a setting for the new genius of Villon. Often and well as Villon has been praised, this mode of approaching his work was needed; and no one else could have used it to the same effect, with so sure a control of all the history.

Many of the friends of Gaston Paris have written lately about his personal influence. Such regret as they feel was felt and expressed by Gaston Paris himself in the memorial notices that he wrote on James Darmesteter and Renan, passages of meditation, full of dignity, not effusive, which perhaps convey as much as a stranger need seek to know about his more intimate thoughts. It may not be out of place to mention here the generous phrase in his 'Villon,' returning thanks for the liberal gift of his friend Marcel Schwob, who, surrendering the interests of his own book, made over the results of

his independent researches to be used in the biography. And further, there is one aspect of the private life of Gaston Paris which it is well to remember—the grace and rectitude of his dealing with scholars outside of France. He believed strongly in his own country, and hardly less strongly in the community of learning over all the world. Two papers of his, composed during the Franco-Prussian war, illustrate the two loyalties, which he was able to reconcile without diluting either of them. One is the lecture on ‘Roland,’ in December 1870, repeating the old prayer—

‘Ne placet Deu ne ses saintismes angles
Que ja par mei perdet sa valor France!’

The other is one of his more technical pieces (on a Latin poem about Frederick Barbarossa), written during the siege of Paris. It mentions calmly his regret that he is prevented from consulting German scholars: ‘They are separated from us by their armies and our ramparts, or engaged perhaps in the preparations for an attack upon our city.’* Gaston Paris knew to the full the claims of patriotism and of learning, and tampered with neither when they were accidentally opposed.

In England he had many personal friends, besides many more who were indebted to him through his writings—attracted almost unconsciously by the character as well as the matter of his work. There was no display, no emphasis in his style. But everything he wrote gave the impression of efficiency and sincerity, or rather of an intellectual magnanimity in which all the other excellences are included.

W. P. KER.

* The war interrupted the work of a young German scholar in Paris, Julius Brakelmann, who had to leave half printed the ‘Corpus’ of Old French lyric poetry which he was editing. He was killed, fighting against the French, at Mars la Tour, in July 1870; the fragment of his book was published in 1891 as he had left it, with a note simply stating the facts, more impressive than any rhetoric.

Art. VI.—THE SLEEPING SICKNESS.

1. *Preliminary Notes on Sleeping Sickness.* By R. U. Moffat, Principal Medical Officer, Uganda Protectorate. Submitted by Commissioner Sadler to the Marquess of Lansdowne, 1902. (Foreign Office Papers: East Africa.)
2. *Reports of the Sleeping-sickness Commission of the Royal Society.* Nos I to IV. London: Harrison, 1903.
3. *A Monograph of the Tsetse Flies.* By E. E. Austen. Published by order of the Trustees of the British Museum. 1903.
4. *Generations- und Wirthswechsel bei Trypanosoma und Spirochæte.* Von Fritz Schaudinn. Arbeiten aus der Kaiserl. Gesundheitsamte zu Berlin; vol. xx, part 3. 1904.

AMONG the strange and mysterious diseases to which mankind is subject in regions less familiar to the civilised world than Western Europe, none is stranger or more appalling in its quiet, inexorable deadliness than the Sleeping Sickness of the West African coast. Apparently it has existed among the natives of that region from time immemorial; but the first printed record we have of it is due to Winterbottom, who, writing in 1803 of Sierra Leone, said, 'The Africans are very subject to a species of lethargy which they are much afraid of, as it proves fatal in every instance.' One of the latest notices of the disease, before it became the subject of active investigation within the last two years, is that of Miss Kingsley, who saw a few cases near the Congo estuary; but, though she was impressed by the mysterious fatality of the disease, she did not describe it as very prevalent or as a general source of danger to life. The opening up of the Congo basin and increased familiarity with the inner lands of the West African coast have shown that this disease is widely scattered—though rarely so abundant as to be a serious scourge—through the whole of tropical West Africa. Writers in the early part of the last century described the disease as occurring in the West Indies and in Brazil. Its presence was almost certainly due, in those days of the slave trade, to the importation of negroes already infected with the disease; and a

curious theory obtained some favour, according to which the sleeping sickness of the West Indian slaves was a kind of nostalgia, and, in fact, the manifestation of what is sometimes called 'a broken heart.'

The signs that a patient has contracted the disease are very obvious at an early stage. They are recognised by the black people, and the certainly fatal issue accepted with calm acquiescence. The usually intelligent expression of the healthy negro is replaced by a dull apathetic appearance; and there is a varying amount of fever and headache. This may last for some weeks, but is followed more or less rapidly by a difficulty in locomotion and speech, a trembling of the tongue and hands. There is increased fever and constant drowsiness, from which the patient is roused only to take food. At last—usually after some three or four months of illness—complete somnolence sets in; no food is taken; the body becomes emaciated and ulcerated; and the victim dies in a state of coma. The course of the disease, from the time when the apathetic stage is first noticed, may last from two to twelve months.

It is this terrible disease which has lately appeared on the shores of the Victoria Nyanza, in the kingdom of Uganda, administered by the British Government. Until the early part of the year 1901 there was not the slightest suspicion that sleeping sickness occurred in any part of the Uganda Protectorate; nor was it known in East Africa at all, any more than in the north and south of that great continent. It seems gradually to have crept up the newly opened trade-routes of the Congo basin, and thence to have spread into the west of Uganda, the territory known as Busoga. Numbers of Soudanese and Congo men are known to have settled in this region after the death of Emin Pasha. First noticed in 1901, it was estimated in June 1902, by the Commissioner of Uganda, writing officially to the Marquess of Lansdowne, that 20,000 persons had died of this disease in the district of Busoga alone, and several thousands in the more eastern portion of Uganda. At this moment (June 1904) it is probable that the number of deaths in this region due to sleeping sickness since 1901 amounts to more than 100,000; and this though, most fortunately, the disease has not yet spread eastward from Uganda

into British East Africa,* nor, so far as has been reported, down the Nile. No curative treatment for the disease has yet been discovered; nor is there any authenticated instance of recovery.

The appalling mortality produced by this disease in Central Africa naturally caused the greatest anxiety to his Majesty's Government, which had but just completed the railway from the East Coast to the shores of lake Victoria Nyanza, and had established a prosperous and happy rule in that densely populated region. The official medical men on the spot, though capable and experienced practitioners, were unable to cope with this new and virulent outbreak. The Foreign Office, having no imperial board of hygiene and medical administration to apply to in this country, sought the assistance of the Royal Society of London.

A committee of that society had already undertaken the study of malaria at the request of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and had sent out young medical men as a commission to make certain enquiries and experiments on that subject and report to the committee in London. The sleeping sickness enquiry was undertaken by the same committee; but unfortunately very insufficient funds were placed at its disposal. When the South African cattle-owners found their herds threatened three years ago by a new form of mortal disease—the 'East Coast fever'—the South African Government accepted the offer of Dr Robert Koch, of Berlin, to undertake the investigation of the disease and the discovery, if possible, of a remedy, for the sum of 10,000*l*. No such sum was at the disposal of the committee of the Royal Society. They were obliged to send out young and enterprising medical men, practically without pay or reward, to see what they could do in the way of determining the cause of, and, if possible, the remedy for, the terrible sleeping sickness raging in Uganda and destroying daily hundreds of British subjects. The committee set to work in the summer of 1902, and sent

* The disease has actually entered into the administrative area known as British East Africa, but has not made any rapid progress towards the coast. According to a recent report by Dr Wiggins, the disease is confined in British East Africa, as in Uganda, to those areas in which *Glossina palpalis* occurs.

out Drs Low, Christy, and Castellani to Entebbe, the capital of Uganda.

The guesses as to the cause and nature of sleeping sickness at the time when this commission set forth were very various. Some highly capable medical authorities held that it was due to poisonous food. The root of the manioc, on which the natives feed, was supposed to become infected by some poison-producing ferment. A more generally received opinion was that it was caused by a specific bacterium which invades the tissues of the brain and spinal cord. Several totally different micro-organisms of this sort had been described with equal confidence by French and Portuguese investigators as the cause of the sleeping sickness studied by them in West Africa or on the Congo. Sir Patrick Manson, the head of the British Colonial medical service, an authority of great experience in tropical disease, had put forward the suggestion that the sleeping sickness was due to the infection of the patient by a minute thread-worm (allied to the 'vinegar-eels,' and one of a great class of parasites) which he had discovered in the blood of negroes and had named *Filaria perstans*.

The occurrence of minute worms (true worms, not unicellular plants or protozoa) in the blood of man was first made known by Dr Timothy Lewis, who described the *Filaria sanguinis hominis*, as well as some other most important blood-parasites, some years ago (1878), when officially engaged in an enquiry into the cause of cholera in Calcutta. Subsequently, in China, Manson found that these little blood-worms were sucked up by mosquitoes when gorging themselves on the blood of a patient. It is, indeed, difficult to imagine how they should escape passing into the mosquito with the blood. Manson suggested that the minute worms (known to be the embryos of a worm which, when adult, is about one fifteenth of an inch long) are obliged to pass through a mosquito in order to accomplish their development; but no proof of this suggestion has ever been made. We know by abundant and repeated demonstration and experiment that another blood-parasite—the malaria parasite—must pass through a mosquito, in whose body it develops, and by which it is carried to a new victim of infection. This was suspected long ago by both peasants and doctors, and

experimentally proved by Ross; but no such proof has been given of the relation of Lewis' blood-worm to a mosquito. The so-called *Filaria perstans*, discovered by Manson in the blood of negroes, appears to be very different from the *Filaria sanguinis hominis* of Lewis. It is not known how it gets into the blood; and it is very astonishing, and much to be regretted, that none of the medical men who have had it under observation have given a proper anatomical account of it. It appears that this worm is very common in the blood of negroes in tropical Africa; and, as it was found in several cases in the blood of individuals attacked by sleeping sickness, Sir Patrick Manson was justified in entertaining the view that this parasite was the cause of the disease.

One of the first results obtained by the commission sent by the Royal Society committee to Uganda was the proof—which had, indeed, been already furnished by the resident medical officers of the Uganda Protectorate—that *Filaria perstans*, though remarkably abundant in the blood of the negroes of Uganda, can have nothing to do with sleeping sickness, since, though it often occurs in persons attacked with that disease, it also exists in districts where sleeping sickness is unknown; and, further, many cases of sleeping sickness have been observed in which no *Filaria perstans* has been discovered in the blood or other parts of the body.

While Drs Low and Christy occupied themselves with settling this question as to the connexion of *Filaria perstans* with the disease, and carried out a careful study of its clinical aspects, Dr Castellani examined the brain and spinal cord of those who died from sleeping sickness, for bacteria. He found again and again an extremely minute globular vegetable parasite—of the kind known as streptococcus—which he concluded to be the cause of the disease, although he had not produced the disease experimentally by inoculating an animal with this microbe.

In the early part of 1903 these were the only results obtained by some six months' work of the medical men sent out by the Royal Society's committee; and it was felt that something more must be done. The investigation of a disease hitherto little known and studied is one of the most difficult tasks in the world, requiring the highest scientific qualities. Any serious attempt to deal with the

sleeping sickness in Uganda would, it was at length recognised, require the despatch of a man of proved capacity and experience, provided with full powers and with trained men as his assistants. No such men are provided by the public service of the British Empire. To detach a medical man of recognised insight and experimental skill from his practice—even were it possible to find one specially qualified for the present enquiry—would involve the payment of a large fee, which neither the Royal Society nor the Foreign Office could command.

What, then, was to be done? Fortunately there was one man in the public service, recently appointed to be one of the chiefs of the educational arrangements of the Army Medical Department, who had shown himself to be especially gifted in the investigation of obscure diseases. This was Colonel David Bruce, F.R.S., who, some twelve years ago, established the existence of Malta fever, as an independent disease, by his clinical observations and by the isolation and cultivation of the parasitic bacterium causing it; and who, further, when employed by the governor of Zululand a few years later (1895) to investigate the celebrated tsetze-fly disease of South Africa, had discovered, contrary to the assertions and prejudices of a large number of African sportsmen and explorers, that the horse and cattle disease known as nagana or tsetze-fly disease was due to the presence in the blood of the affected animals of a peculiar cork-screw-like animal parasite, the *Trypanosoma Brucei*. This is carried by the bite of the tsetze fly from the blood of wild game, such as buffalo and antelope, where it does no harm, to the blood of domesticated animals, in which it multiplies and proves to be the source of a deadly poison causing death in a few weeks. The experiments by which Colonel Bruce demonstrated this relationship of tsetze fly, trypanosome parasite, wild big game, and domesticated animals, were universally regarded as masterly both in conception and execution, and absolutely conclusive.

The committee of the Royal Society came to the conclusion that the thing to be done was to get Colonel Bruce to consent to proceed to Uganda, and to recommend the Foreign Office to obtain from the War Office the temporary detachment of Colonel Bruce for this service. Accordingly, Colonel Bruce arrived in Uganda in the middle of March,

1903. Dr Low and Dr Christy had already departed, but Dr Castellani was still at Entebbe engaged in the study of his streptococcus. He mentioned to Colonel Bruce on his arrival that he had on more than one occasion seen a trypanosome in the cerebro-spinal fluid of negroes suffering from sleeping sickness; but, inasmuch as Dutton on the West Coast and Hodges in Uganda had described a trypanosome as an occasional parasite in human blood, he had not considered its occurrence in sleeping-sickness patients as of any more significance than is the occurrence of *Filaria perstans*. Castellani regarded the trypanosome, like the filaria, as a mere accidental concomitant of sleeping sickness, the cause of which he considered to be the bacterial streptococcus which he had so frequently found to be present.

Naturally enough, Bruce was impressed by the fact that trypanosomes, of the deadly nature of which he had had ample experience, had been found, even once, in the cerebro-spinal fluid of sleeping-sickness patients; and he immediately set to work to make a thorough search for this parasite in all the cases of sleeping sickness then under observation at Entebbe. He generously allowed Castellani to take part in the investigation, which resulted in the immediate discovery of the trypanosome in the cerebro-spinal fluid of twenty cases, out of thirty-four examined, of negroes afflicted with the disease; whilst in twelve negroes free from sleeping sickness the trypanosome could not be found in the cerebro-spinal fluid. Castellani returned to Europe three weeks after Bruce's experiments were commenced, and announced the discovery, which has been, in consequence, erroneously attributed to him, although mainly due to Bruce.

Bruce continued his work in Uganda until the end of August 1903, having been joined there by Colonel Greig of the Indian Army, who has continued the work of the Royal Society's commission since Bruce left. Other valuable observations have been carried out by various medical men officially connected with the Uganda Protectorate. Bruce soon showed that in every case of sleeping sickness, when examined with sufficient care, the trypanosome parasite is found to be present in the cerebro-spinal fluid. He also showed that it is absent from that fluid in all negroes examined who were not

afflicted with the disease, but made the very important discovery that the trypanosome is present in the blood (not the cerebro-spinal fluid) of twenty-eight per cent. of the population in those areas where sleeping sickness occurs, the persons thus affected having none of the symptoms of sleeping sickness, but being either perfectly healthy or merely troubled with a little occasional fever. The subsequent history of all the cases thus observed has not as yet been recorded. But in many such, even in some Europeans, the earlier presence of the trypanosome in the blood has been followed by its entry into the cerebro-spinal lymphatics, and by the fatal development of sleeping sickness.

As already indicated, it was found by Bruce, on recording the cases of sleeping sickness brought into or reported in Entebbe, that there were certain 'sleeping-sickness areas' and other areas free from sleeping sickness. The theory now took shape in Bruce's mind that the trypanosome first gets into the blood, and then, after a time, makes its way into the cerebro-spinal system, only then producing its deadly symptoms. Very generally, when once in the blood, the trypanosome multiplies itself, and sooner or later—apparently, in some cases, even after two or three years—gets into the cerebro-spinal fluid. It is probable that it may be destroyed by natural processes in the human body before this final stage is reached; and thus the infected person may recover and escape the deadly phase of the disease. But nothing certain is known, as yet, on this head. The latest news bearing on the matter is that the trypanosome is found alive and in large quantity in the lymphatic glands, especially those in the region of the neck, in infected persons. These glands were known to be enlarged in persons suffering from the disease.

Colonel Bruce's next step was to ascertain the mode in which the trypanosome is introduced into the blood. Naturally he looked for a kind of tsetse fly, such as carries the trypanosome in the nagana disease of horses and cattle. It is a fact that the *Glossina morsitans* and *Glossina pallidipes*, which are the tsetse flies of the 'fly-districts' where nagana disease is rife, are unknown in Central or Western Africa; and also it is a fact that no tsetse fly had been observed in the neighbourhood

of the Victoria Nyanza when Colonel Bruce began his enquiries. He employed, through the good-will of the native chiefs and rulers, a large number of natives to collect flies throughout the country forming a belt of twenty or thirty miles around the north of the lake. Many thousands of flies were thus brought in, and the localities from which they came carefully noted. Among these flies Colonel Bruce recognised a tsetze fly; and, when these collections were received at the Natural History Museum in London, it was at once determined by Mr Austen, the assistant in charge of our collections of Diptera (or two-winged flies), that the Uganda tsetze fly was not the same species as that of Zululand and the fly country, but a distinct species previously known only on the West Coast and the Congo basin, and described by the name *Glossina palpalis*. The story thus developed itself: the trypanosome of sleeping sickness is probably carried by this West Coast tsetze fly just as the trypanosome of nagana is carried in the south east of Africa by the *Glossina morsitans* and *pallidipes*, the regular and original 'tsetze' flies.

Sleeping sickness thus presented itself as a special kind of human tsetze-fly disease. To test this hypothesis, Colonel Bruce pursued two very important and distinct lines of enquiry. In the first place he found that those places on his map which were marked as 'sleeping-sickness areas' were precisely those places from which the collected flies included specimens of tsetze fly, whilst he found that there were no tsetze flies in the collections of flies brought in by the natives from the regions where there was no sleeping sickness.

His second test-enquiry consisted in ascertaining whether the tsetze flies of Uganda are actually found, experimentally, to be capable of carrying the trypanosome from one infected person to another. For this purpose it was necessary to make use of monkeys, certain species of which were ascertained to be liable to the infection of the sleeping-sickness trypanosome when this was introduced by means of injection through a syringe. Such monkeys were found to develop the chief symptoms of sleeping sickness, and ultimately died of the disease, their cerebro-spinal fluid being invaded by the parasites. Accordingly it was possible to use monkeys as test

animals. It was found by Colonel Bruce that tsetze flies (*Glossina palpalis*) which had been made to bite infected negroes could carry the infection to the monkeys; and it was also found that even when a number of tsetze flies, not specially prepared, were allowed to bite a monkey, the latter eventually developed the trypanosome in its blood and cerebro-spinal fluid, thus showing that the tsetze flies, as naturally occurring in the country around Entebbe, contain, many of them, the trypanosome ready to pass from the fly to a human or simian victim, when casually bitten by the fly.

Experiments such as these of infection by the fly, and the use of monkeys in the research, require very great care; and it is quite reasonable to ask that they shall be repeated and most carefully checked before they are considered as demonstrative and absolutely certain. It may, however, be considered as practically certain that the sleeping sickness is due to the presence in the cerebro-spinal fluid of quantities of a minute parasite, the *Trypanosoma Gambiense*, which is carried from man to man by the *palpalis* tsetze fly, which sucks it up from the blood of an infected individual and conveys it to previously uninfected individuals. The natives in Uganda lie about and sleep under the shade of trees where the tsetze flies are especially abundant; and they are quite indifferent to the bites of flies of one kind and another.

It is the dislike to the mere touch of a fly, still more to its bite, which has protected Europeans almost entirely from the sleeping sickness. Unfortunately there is no immunity for Europeans in the matter; and the existence of half a dozen or more cases of white people infected with the trypanosome, who have ultimately died in England or elsewhere in Europe from sleeping sickness contracted through the bite of a fly in Africa, is abundant proof that there is not, as has been supposed, any special freedom from the disease for white people.

The foregoing description of the nature and mode of the infection of sleeping sickness will not cause any astonishment to the layman of the present day who knows anything of recent medical science. We are all familiar with the danger of fly-bites, even in this country, where deadly bacteria are occasionally carried

by biting flies, such as the horse-flies, into the human subject; and nowadays every one is more or less familiar with the discovery of the minute blood-parasite which causes malaria or ague, and is carried by a particular kind of gnat in the interior of which it multiplies by a process of sexual conjugation. At the same time the reader who is interested in sleeping sickness will probably desire to know more about the nature of the tsetze flies and some further details as to the parasite spoken of as trypanosome.

The tsetze flies form a genus called by Wiedemann (in 1830) 'Glossina.' They are only found in Africa; and some seven species in all are known. They are little bigger than a common house-fly, and much like it in colour. They differ in appearance from the house-fly in the fact that the wings, when the insect is at rest, are parallel to one another, and slightly over-lap in the middle line, instead of being to a small extent divergent at their free extremities. The bite, like that of all flies, is rather a stab than a bite, and is effected by a beak-like process of the head, the blood of the animal pricked in this way being drawn into the fly's mouth by a sucking action of the gullet. The tsetze flies appear to be especially greedy, and are said to gorge themselves to such an extent that the blood taken in from one animal overflows the gullet, and so contaminates the wound inflicted by the fly on the next animal it visits. It is at the present moment assumed very generally that this is the way in which infection is produced. But it is not at all improbable that the trypanosome undergoes some kind of multiplication and change of form when sucked into the tsetze fly, as happens in the case of the malaria parasite when swallowed by the *Anopheles* gnat. No such change has yet been discovered in regard to the trypanosome of sleeping sickness; but it cannot be said that the matter has been exhaustively studied, or that a negative conclusion is justified.

As to the parasite itself—the trypanosome—a long and very interesting story has now to be told. The first blood-parasite ever made known to naturalists and medical men was that to which Gruby, in 1843, gave the name *Trypanosoma sanguinis*. He found it in the blood of the common frog. We have here reproduced a figure

of this original trypanosome (fig. 1). Similar parasites had been seen, but not named, in the blood of fishes. These trypanosomes are all very minute and of a some-



FIG. 1.—*TRYPANOSOMA SANGUINIS*, GRUBY.

The original trypanosome from the blood of the frog described and so named by Gruby in 1843. The figures are taken from original drawings made and published by Lankester in 1871.

n. the nucleus.

what elongated form, a fair average length being one thousandth of an inch. They are simple protoplasmic animals, consisting of one single nucleated corpuscle. The protoplasm is drawn out at one end of the creature into a motile undulating thread, and from the point where this joins the body a membranous undulating crest extends along the greater part of the animal's length. There is no mouth, nutrition being effected by the imbibition of soluble nutrient matter.

After a long interval Gruby's trypanosome was re-discovered in 1871; and then several kinds were described in the blood of tortoises, fishes, and birds. In 1878 Dr Timothy Lewis found a parasite in the blood of rats, at



FIG. 2.—*TRYPANOSOMA LEWISI*, KENT.

The trypanosome discovered by Dr Timothy Lewis in 1878 in the blood of rats.

n. nucleus; bl. blepharoplast or micronucleus.

first in India, and subsequently in the common rats of London sewers. This parasite resembles a trypanosome in many respects (fig. 2), but was very properly given

a distinct name by Savile Kent, who called it 'herpetomonas.' This name has, however, been dropped; and the rat's blood parasite is spoken of as a trypanosome. It is the *Trypanosoma Lewisii*, and was the first of these trypanosomes to be found in the blood of a mammalian animal. The *Trypanosoma Lewisii* of the rat's blood seems to do no harm to the rat, in which it swarms, multiplying itself by longitudinal fission; nor is it at present known to produce any trouble in other animals when transferred to their blood. Similarly, the frog's trypanosome seems to exist innocently in the frog's blood.

The next trypanosome discovered (1880) was, however, found in the blood of camels, horses, and cattle suffering from a deadly disease known in India by the name 'surra.' It is called *Trypanosoma Evansii*, after the observer who detected it. Trypanosomes now began to get a bad name, for the next was discovered in animals afflicted by a North African disease known to French veterinaries as 'dourine.' This trypanosome was called *T. equiperdum*.

A little later, namely, in the year 1895, came Bruce's discovery of a trypanosome associated with a tsetse fly in the production of the terrible nagana disease of the 'fly-belts' of South Africa, which renders whole territories impassable for horses or cattle. The remarkable and important observation was made by Bruce that this trypanosome (known as *T. Brucei*) inhabits the blood of big game without injuring them, just as the rat's trypanosome inhabits the rat's blood without producing disease; and that it is only when the trypanosome is carried from these natural wild 'hosts' to domesticated animals introduced by man, such as horses, asses, cattle, and dogs, that disease results. The wild animals are 'immune' to Bruce's trypanosome; the introduced animals are poisoned by the products of its growth and fissile multiplication in their blood.

Since Bruce's researches on nagana, a trypanosome, *T. equinum*, has been discovered in the horse-ranches of South America, where it causes deadly disease, the *mal de caderas*, among the collected horses; and a curiously large-sized trypanosome has been found by Theiler in the blood of cattle in the Transvaal. Down to a recent date no trypanosome had been found in

the blood of man; and indeed it is almost certain that none of the kinds hitherto mentioned can survive in his blood. But in 1902 Dutton discovered a trypanosome in the blood of a West African patient; and a few other cases were noted. This trypanosome of human blood was called by Dutton *T. Gambiense*. It was not found to be connected with any serious symptoms, a little fever being the only disturbance noted. It now, however, appears that this trypanosome in the blood is the preliminary stage of the infection which ends in sleeping sickness; and, as we have seen, in a population seriously attacked by sleeping sickness, as is that of Uganda, as many as 28 per cent. of the people have trypanosomes in their blood.

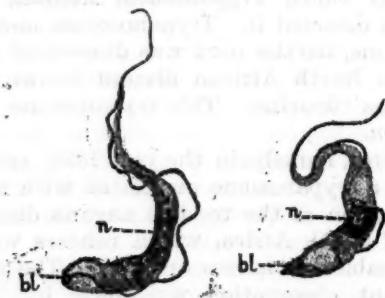


FIG. 3.—*TRYPANOSOMA GAMBIENSE*, DUTTON.

The trypanosome of sleeping sickness. From a drawing made at Entebbe, Uganda, by Mrs Bruce, of two specimens stained by the Romanowsky method.

n. the nucleus; bl. the blepharoplast or micronucleus. The same figures would fairly represent the appearance of the trypanosomes of nagana, surra, and mal de caderas.

There is no ground at present known for distinguishing Dutton's *T. Gambiense* of human blood from that which Bruce has found to be so terribly abundant in Uganda, and to be the cause of sleeping sickness. Indeed all the trypanosomes of the blood of the larger mammalia are singularly alike in appearance; and the figure which is here given (fig. 3) of the trypanosome of sleeping sickness (*T. Gambiense*) might quite well serve to represent the *T. Evansii* of surra disease, the *T. Brucei* of nagana disease, or the *T. equinum* of the South American mal de caderas.

A most characteristic feature, which has been made out by the careful study of these trypanosomes by means of colouring reagents and very high powers of the microscope, is that, whilst there is a large granular nucleus (see fig. 3 *n.*), there is also a small body (fig. 3 *bl.*) which readily stains and is placed at the end of the root (so to speak) of the vibratile *flagellum* or free thread. This smaller nucleus has been variously called the 'micro-nucleus,' the 'centrosome,' and the 'blepharoplast.' It is identical with a structure similarly placed in non-parasitic microscopic animals to which trypanosoma is undoubtedly related. We find it in the phosphorescent noctiluca of our seas, and in various animalcules called 'Flagellata.'

The creature drawn in our fig. 3 is, then, the typical trypanosome. It is this which the medical investigator looks for in his human or animal patients; it is this which he has regarded as the sign and proof of infection. Experiments have shown that, though so much alike in appearance in the different diseases we have named, yet each trypanosome has its own properties. Human blood-serum is poisonous to one and not to another; an animal immune to one is not immune to another. At present no treatment has been discovered which will destroy the parasites when once they have effected a lodgment, or act as an antidote to the poison which they produce in the infected animal or man. But the fact that in some cases an animal may become immune to the attack of the parasite which usually is deadly to its kind, gives hope of an eventual curative treatment for trypanosome infection; as does also the fact that the serum of some animals acts as a poison to trypanosomes which flourish in other animals.

With regard to immunity, it must always be remembered that we are liable to confuse two different conditions under this one term. An animal may be said to be immune to a blood-parasite because that parasite is actually unable to live in its blood. On the other hand, an animal is often said to be immune to a parasite when the parasite can and does flourish in its blood or tissues but produces no poisonous effect. A more precise nomenclature would describe the attacked organism in the first case as 'repellent,' for it repels the parasite altogether;

in the second case as 'tolerant,' for it tolerates the presence and multiplication of the parasite without suffering by it.

We have yet to learn a good deal more as to the repulsion and the toleration of the trypanosome parasites by mammals and man. Still more have we to learn about the life-history of the trypanosome. At the moment of writing, absolutely nothing has been ascertained as to the life-history of the trypanosomes of mammalian blood, except that they multiply in the blood by longitudinal fission. Our ignorance about them is all the more serious since other trypanosomes, discovered by Danilewsky in birds, have been studied and have been shown to go through the most varied phases of multiplication and change of size and shape, including a process of sexual fertilisation like that of the malaria parasite, to which, indeed, it now seems certain the trypanosomes are very closely allied.

It is to Dr Schaudinn, of Rovigno, that we owe a knowledge of some most extraordinary and important facts with regard to the trypanosomes parasitic in the blood of the little stone-owl of southern Europe (*Athene noctua*). These facts are so remarkable that, were Dr Schaudinn not already known as a very competent investigator of microscopic organisms, we should hesitate to accept them as true. Supposing, as is not improbable, that similar facts can be shown in regard to the trypanosomes of mammalian blood, the conclusions which our medical investigators have based upon a very limited knowledge of the form and life-history of the trypanosomes occurring in diseases such as sleeping sickness, surra, and nagana, are likely to be gravely modified, and practical issues of an unexpected kind will be involved.

As has already been pointed out in this article, the British Government has no staff of public servants trained to deal with the world-wide problems of sanitation and disease which necessarily come with increasing frequency before the puzzled administrators of our scattered Empire. There is no provision for the study of the nature and history of blood-parasites in this country, that is to say, no provision of laboratories with the very ablest and exceptionally-gifted investigators at their head. We play with the provision of an adequate

army, officers, and equipment to fight disease, which annually destroys hundreds of thousands of our people, much as barbarous states or bankrupt European kingdoms play with the provision of an ordinary army and navy. Their forces exist on paper, or even in fact, but have no ammunition, no officers, and no information; and there is no pay for the soldiers or sailors. Dr Schaudinn, on the other hand, is carrying on his researches as an officer of the German Imperial Health Bureau of Berlin; and the account of them was published in the official Report of that important department of the German imperial administrative service six months ago.

It is not possible here to give a full report on Dr



FIG. 4.—*TRYPANOSOMA ZIEMANNI*, SCHAUDINN.

From the blood of the stone-owl, *Athene noctua*. This phase of the life-history corresponds to the 'crescent-phase' of the malarial parasite *Laverania*.

a, represents a female or egg-cell (macrogamete); *b*, represents a male or sperm-mother-cell (microgametocyte); *n*, nucleus; *bl*, blepharoplast. After Schaudinn.

Schaudinn's work; but it appears that he has studied two distinct species of trypanosoma, both occurring side by side in the blood of the little stone-owl, and already seen, but incompletely studied, by Danilewsky and Ziemann. The second of the two species of trypanosome is in some respects the more remarkable. Schaudinn calls it *Trypanosoma Ziemanni*; and from the figures which are here given (figs. 4, 5, 6 and 7), copied from his article, with the explanations below the figures, the reader will at once see what

an extraordinary range of form and mode of multiplication is presented by this one species of trypanosome. Space will not permit us to comment on these various phases beyond noting how assuredly such forms would have escaped recognition as belonging to the trypanosome history if seen, before Dr Schaudinn's memoir was printed, by any of our medical commissioners blindly exploring round about the diseases caused by trypanosomes in man and mammals.

One very astonishing and revolutionary fact discovered by Schaudinn we must, however, especially point out. Medical men have long been acquainted with the spirillum,

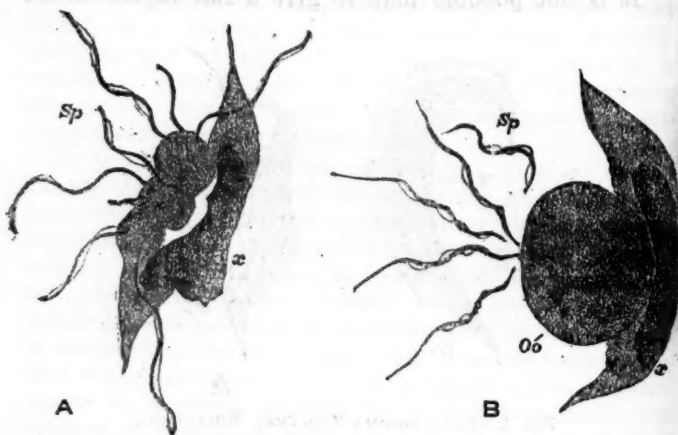


FIG. 5.

The full-grown trypanosomes seen in fig. 4 have now been swallowed by the common gnat, *Culex pipiens*, and are undergoing development in its stomach.

A, shows the spermatozoa, *Sp.*, or microgametes, developing as elongated animalcules from the male cell. The large black mass, *x*, is the stained nucleus of a blood cell of the owl to which the parasite was adherent. B, shows the now rounded egg-cell, *Oe*, being fertilised by the liberated spermatozoa, *Sp.* The fusiform mass on the right is a discarded outer coat of the female trypanosome together with the nucleus, *x*, of a blood-corpuscle of the owl to which it was adherent. After Schaudinn.

or spiral threads, discovered by Obermeyer in the blood of patients suffering from the relapsing fever of eastern Europe. These were universally and without question regarded as Bacteria (vegetable organisms) and referred to the genus 'Spirochæte' of Ehrenberg. They were called

Spirochæte Obermeieri; and relapsing fever was held to be a typical case of a bacterial infection of the blood. It is now shown by Schaudinn that the blood-parasite spirochæte is a phase of a trypanosome (fig. 7); that it has a large nucleus and a micronucleus or blepharoplast, neither of which are present in the spiral Bacteria; and, further, that it alters its shape, contracting so as to present the form of minute oval or pear-shaped bodies, each provided with a larger and a smaller nucleus. These oval bodies are often engulfed by the colourless corpuscles (phagocytes) of the blood; and it is in the highest degree probable that in this condition they have been observed in some tropical diseases without their relation to the spiral

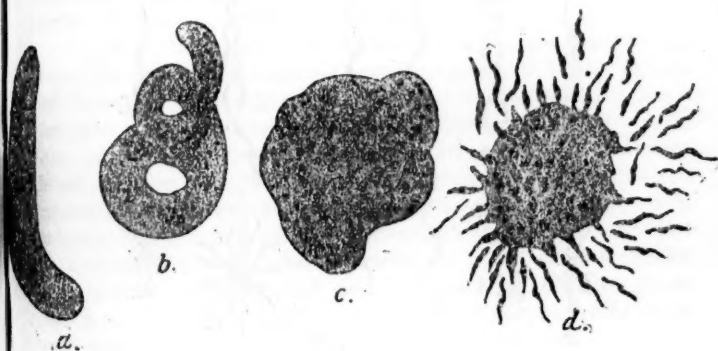


FIG. 6.

Further phases of *Trypanosoma Ziemanni* after fertilisation, which are found in the intestine of the common gnat, *Culex pipiens*.

a, corresponds to the vermicule phase (ookinete) of the malaria parasite. It is the fertilised egg-cell, now elongated and active in movement. The nucleus is seen, and within the nucleus is the blepharoplast. b and c, elongation and coiling of the ookinete with multiplication of the nucleus corresponding to the formation of the spore-holding cysts of the malaria parasite which are attached to the gut-wall of Anopheles; d, breaking up of the coil into small neutral trypanosomes (neither male nor female). From Schaudinn.

forms being suspected. The corpuscles lately described by Leishman, in cases of a peculiar Indian fever, are very probably of this nature, as are also similar bodies recently described in Delhi sore. On the whole, it may safely be said that the researches of Dr Schaudinn, of which only a preliminary account has yet been published, have widely modified our conceptions as to these blood-

parasites, and must lead to important discoveries in regard to diseases caused by them in mammals and in man.

The facts that wild game serve as a tolerant reservoir of trypanosomes for the infection of domesticated animals by the intermediary of the tsetse fly, and that native children in malarial regions act the same part for the malarial parasite and mosquito, suggest very strongly that some tolerant reservoir of the sleeping-sickness trypanosome may exist in the shape of a hitherto unsuspected mammal, bird, or insect. The investigation of that hypothesis and the discovery of the reproductive and

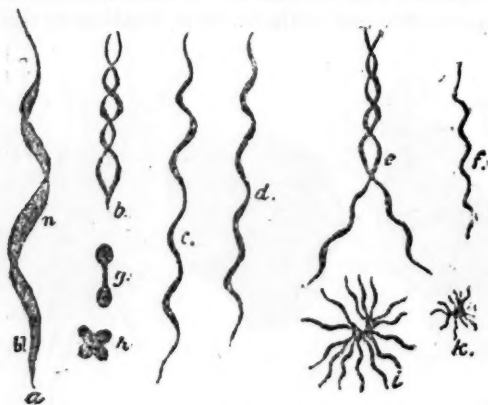


FIG. 7.

Forms of small neutral trypanosomes belonging to the series of *T. Ziemanni* found in the malpighian tubes of the common gnat. That marked *a* is also found in the owl's blood, where it is introduced by the bite of the gnat and multiplies by fission, eventually giving rise to the full-sized sexual forms of fig. 4. These small elongated forms are what have been called Spirochaeta, and confused up till now with the bacterial parasites known as Spirillum.

a, neutral Spirochaeta-phase showing, *n*, nucleus and, *bl*, blepharoplast; *b*, a smaller individual dividing by longitudinal fission into two; *c*, a similar individual with the two newly formed fission products extended in line; *d* and *e*, further longitudinal fission in progress; *f*, a smaller Spirochaeta-phase; *g*, resting state or contracted condition of the same; *h*, resting state of a four-fold individual such as *e*; *i* and *k*, star-like agglomerations (such as are well known in *Trypanosoma Lewisii*, *Brucei*, and *equinum*) due to a coming together of free individuals and not to a fission or budding process. After Schaudinn.

secondary forms of the mammalian trypanosomes are the matters which now most urgently call for the efforts of capable medical officers. But we must not be sanguine of rapid progress, since men of the scientific quality

needful for pursuing these enquiries are not numerous; and those who exist are not endowed with private fortunes, as a rule. At the same time no attempt is made by the British Government to take such men into its pay, or to provide for the training and selection of such officers.

The relations of parasites to the organisms upon or in which they are parasitic, and the relation of man, once entered on the first steps of his career of civilisation, to the world of parasites, form one of the most instructive and fascinating chapters of natural history. It cannot be fully written yet, but already some of the conclusions to which the student is led in examining this subject have far-reaching importance and touch upon great general principles in an unexpected manner.

Before the arrival of man—the would-be controller, the disturber of Nature—the adjustment of living things to their surrounding conditions and to one another has a certain appearance of perfection. Natural selection and the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence lead to the production of a degree of efficiency and harmonious interaction of the units of the living world which, being based on the inexorable destruction of what is inadequate and inharmonious as soon as it appears, result in a smooth and orderly working of the great machine, and the continuance by heredity of efficiency and a high degree of individual perfection.

Parasites, whether microscopic or of larger size, are not, in such circumstances, the cause of widespread disease or suffering. The weakly members of a species may be destroyed by parasites, as others are destroyed by beasts of prey; but the general community of the species, thus weeded, is benefited by the operation. In the natural world the inhabitants of areas bounded by sea, mountain, and river become adjusted to one another; and a balance is established. The only disturbing factors are exceptional seasons, unusual cold, wet, or drought. Such recurrent factors may from time to time increase the number of the weakly who are unable to cope with the invasions of minute destructive parasites, and so reduce even to extermination the kinds of animals or plants especially susceptible to such influences. But anything like the epidemic diseases of para-

sitic origin with which civilised man is unhappily familiar seems to be due either to his own restless and ignorant activity or, in his absence, to great and probably somewhat sudden geological changes—changes of the connexions, and therefore communications, of great land areas.

It is abundantly evident that animals or plants which have, by long æons of selection and adaptation, become adjusted to the parasites and the climatic conditions and the general company (so to speak) of one continent may be totally unfit to cope with those of another; just as the Martian giants of Mr H. G. Wells, though marvels of offensive and defensive development, were helpless in the presence of mundane putrefactive bacteria, and were rapidly and surely destroyed by them. Accordingly, it is not improbable that such geological changes as the junction of the North and South American continents, of North and South Africa, and of various large islands and neighbouring continents, have, in ages before the advent of man, led to the development of disastrous epidemics. It is not a far-fetched hypothesis that the disappearance of the whole equine race from the American continent just before or coincidently with the advent of man—a region where horses of all kinds had existed in greater variety than in any other part of the world—is due to the sudden introduction, by means of some geological change, of a deadly parasite which spread as an epidemic and extinguished the entire horse population.

Whatever may have happened in past geological epochs, by force of great earth-movements which rapidly brought the adaptations of one continent into contact with the parasites of another, it is quite certain that man, proud man, ever since he has learnt to build a ship, and even before that, when he made up his mind to march aimlessly across continents till he could go no further, has played havoc with himself and all sorts of his fellow-beings by mixing up the products of one area with those of another. Nowhere has man allowed himself—let alone other animals or even plants—to exist in fixed local conditions to which he or they have become adjusted. With ceaseless restlessness he has introduced men and beasts and plants from one land to another. He has constantly migrated, with his herds and his horses, from continent to continent. Parasites, in themselves beneficent

purifiers of the race, have been thus converted into terrible scourges and the agents of disease. Europeans are decimated by the locally innocuous parasites of Africa; the South Sea islanders are exterminated by the comparatively harmless measles of Europe.

A striking example of the disasters brought about by man's blind dealings with Nature—disasters which can and will hereafter be avoided by the aid of science—is to be found in the history of the insect phylloxera and the vine. In America the vine had become adjusted to the phylloxera larvæ, so that when they nibbled its roots the American vine threw out new root-shoots and was none the worse for the little visitor. Man in his blundering way introduced the American vine, and with it the phylloxera, to Europe; and in three years half the vines in France and Italy were destroyed by the phylloxera, because the European vines had not been bred in association with this little pest, and had not acquired the simple adjusting faculty of throwing out new shoots.

But it is not only by his reckless mixing up of incompatibles from all parts of the globe that the unscientific man has risked the conversion of paradise into a desert. In his greedy efforts to produce large quantities of animals and plants convenient for his purposes, and in his eagerness to mass and organise his own race for defence and conquest, man has accumulated unnatural swarms of one species in field and ranch and unnatural crowds of his own kind in towns and fortresses. Such undiluted masses of one organism serve as a ready field for the propagation of previously rare and unimportant parasites from individual to individual. Human epidemic diseases, as well as those of cattle and crops, are largely due to this unguarded action of the unscientific man.

A good instance of this is seen in the history of the coffee plantations of Ceylon, where a previously rare and obscure parasitic fungus, leading an uneventful life in the tropical forests of that country, suddenly found itself provided with an unlimited field of growth and exuberance in the coffee plantations. The coffee plantations were destroyed by this parasite, which has now returned to its pristine obscurity. Disharmonious, blundering man was responsible for its brief triumph and celebrity. Dame Nature had not allowed the coffee fungus more than a very moderate

scope. Man comes in and takes the reins; disaster follows; and there is no possibility of return to the old régime. Man must make his blunders and retrieve them by further interference—by the full use of his intelligence, by the continually increasing ingenuity of his control of the physical world, which he has ventured to wrest from the old rule of natural selection and adaptation.

The adjustment of all living things to their proper environment is one of great delicacy and often of surprising limitation. In no living things is this more remarkable than in parasites. The relation of a parasite to the 'host' or 'hosts' in which it can flourish (often the host is only one special species or even variety of plant or animal) is illustrated by the more familiar restriction of certain plants to a particular soil. Thus the Cornish heath only grows on soil overlying the chemically peculiar serpentine rocks of Cornwall. The two common parasitic tape-worms of man pass their early life the one in the pig and the other in bovine animals. But that which requires the pig as its first host (*Tænia solium*) cannot use a bovine animal as a substitute; nor can the other (*Tænia mediocanellata*) exist in a pig. Yet the difference of porcine and bovine flesh and juices is not a very patent one; it is one of small variations in highly complex organic chemical substances. A big earth-worm-like stomach-worm flourishes in man, and another kind similar to it in the horse. But that frequenting man cannot exist in the horse, nor that of the horse in man. Simpler parasites, such as are the moulds, bacteria, and again the blood-parasites, trypanosoma, etc., exhibit absolute restrictions as to the hosts in which they can or can not flourish without showing specific changes in their vital processes. Being far simpler in structure than the parasitic worms, they have less 'mechanism' at their disposal for bringing about adjustment to varied conditions of life. The microscopic parasites do not submit to alterations in the chemical character of their surroundings without themselves reacting and showing changed chemical activities. A change of soil (that is to say of host) may destroy them; but, on the other hand, it may lead to increased vigour and the most unexpected reaction on their part in the production of virulent chemical poisons.

We are justified in believing that until man introduced his artificially selected and transported breeds of cattle and horses into Africa there was no nagana disease. The *Trypanosoma Brucei* lived in the blood of the big game in perfect harmony with its host. So, too, it is probable that the sleeping-sickness parasite flourished innocently in a state of adjustment due to tolerance on the part of the aboriginal men and animals of West Africa. It was not until the Arab slave-raiders, European explorers, and india-rubber thieves stirred up the quiet populations of Central Africa, and mixed by their violence the susceptible with the tolerant races, that the sleeping-sickness parasite became a deadly scourge—a 'disharmony,' to use the suggestive term introduced by my friend Elias Metschnikow.

The adjustment of primæval populations to their conditions has also been broken down by 'disharmonies' of another kind, due to man's restless invention, as explained a few years ago in the interesting book of Mr Archdall Reid on the 'Present Evolution of Man.' Not only does the human race within given areas become adjusted to a variety of local parasites, but it acquires a tolerance of dangerous drugs, such as alcohol and opium, extracted by man's ingenuity from materials upon which he operates. A race thus provided and thus immune imposes, by its restless migrations, on unaccustomed races the deadly poisons to the consumption of which it is itself habituated. The unaccustomed races are deteriorated or even exterminated by the poisons thus introduced.

Infectious disease, it was long ago pointed out, must be studied from three main points of view: (1) the life-history and nature of the disease-germ or infective matter; (2) the infected subject, his repellent or tolerant possibilities, and his predisposition or receptivity; (3) the intermediary or carrying agents. Whilst it is true that little or nothing has been done by the State in acquiring or making use of knowledge as to the first and second of these factors, with a view to controlling the spread of disease, it is the fact that much has been done both in the way of investigation and administration in relation to the third factor. The great public-health enquiries and consequent legislation in this country, in which scientific men of the highest qualifications, such as Simon, Farr, Chadwick, and Parkes, took part during the Victorian

period, have had excellent results; to them are due the vast expenditure at the present day on pure water, sewage disposal, and sanitary inspection. But little or nothing has been done in regard to the first and second divisions of the subject, in which the less organised portions of the British Empire are more deeply concerned than in waterworks and sewer-pipes. It is still contested whether leprosy (which is a serious scourge in the British Empire, though expelled from our own islands) is a matter of predisposition caused by diet or solely due to contagion; and yet it is left to individual practitioners to work out the problem. The State prepares vaccine lymph in a cheap and unsatisfactory way for the use of its, till recently, compulsorily vaccinated citizens; but the State, though thus interfering in the matter of vaccine, has spent no money to study effectively and to improve the system of vaccination. Here and there some temporary and ineffective enquiry has been subsidised by a government office; but there is no great army of investigators working in the best possible laboratories, led by the ablest minds of the day, with the constant object of improving and developing in new directions the system of inoculation. Surely if compulsion, or every pressure short of compulsion, is justified in enforcing vaccine inoculation on every British family, it would be only reasonable and consistent to expend a million or so a year in the perfection and intelligent control of this remedy by the most skilled investigators. Yet not a halfpenny is spent by the British Government in this way. Medicine is organised in this country by its practitioners as a fee-paid profession; but as a necessary and invaluable branch of the public service it is neglected, misunderstood, and rendered to a large extent futile by inadequate funds and consequent lack of capable leaders. The defiant desperate battle which civilised man wages with Nature must go on; but man's suffering and loss in the struggle—the delay in his ultimate triumph—depend solely on how much or how little the great civilised communities of the world seek for increased knowledge of nature as the basis of their practical administration and government.

E. RAY LANKESTER.

Art. VII.—THE LAWS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

1. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Savigny-Stiftung von F. Liebermann. Erster Band: Text und Übersetzung. Halle: Niemeyer, 1903.
2. *Quadripartitus: ein englisches Rechtsbuch von 1114* (1892). *Consiliatio Cnuti: eine Uebertragung angelsächsischer Gesetze aus dem zwölften Jahrhundert* (1893). *Ueber Pseudo-Cnuts Constitutiones de Foresta* (1894). *Ueber die Leges Anglorum Sæculo xiii ineunte Londoniis collectæ* (1894). *Ueber die Leges Edwardi Confessoris* (1896). *Ueber das englische Rechtsbuch Leges Henrici* (1901): and other treatises. By F. Liebermann. Halle: Niemeyer.

THOUGH Dr Liebermann has still something in store for us in the way of notes, index, glossary, and the like, the time has already come when we may rejoice in the possession of a really good edition of the oldest English laws, an edition which will bear comparison with the very best work that has hitherto been done upon any historical materials of a similar kind. That this task should have been performed by a German scholar at the instance of a German academy, and with the support of a German trust fund, may not be what we in England should have liked best, but must not detract from the warmth of our welcome and our praise. If Englishmen cannot or will not do these things, they can at least rejoice that others can and will.

The German occupation of a considerable tract of English history has been a gradual process. The sphere of influence becomes a protectorate, and the protectorate becomes sovereignty. The shore is surveyed and settled; and now with colour of right far-reaching claims can be made over an auriferous hinterland. How and why all this happened it would be long to tell, but a small part of the story should be remembered.

Few words will be sufficient to recall to our minds the nature and extent of the territory which, so we fear, is slipping from our grasp. Any one who, at the present day, desired to study, even in outline, the first six centuries of English history—those centuries which intervene

between the withdrawal of the legions and the coming of the Normans—would find himself compelled, whether he liked it or not, diligently to peruse a certain small body of laws. We cannot, indeed, say that, were it not for these monuments of ancient jurisprudence, the only tale that he would have to tell would be of battles between ‘kites and crows.’ Certain great men—an Alfred, for instance, or a Dunstan—might be seen and portrayed, though without a background. There would still be something to be learnt about heathenry and Christianity, about religious doctrines and ecclesiastical organisation, about poetry and prose, about arts and crafts. One of those old-fashioned chapters or appendixes touching ‘the manners and customs of the people’ might be rewritten with truer insight and apter illustrations. But if from the sum total of what we know about our forefathers we subtracted what has been directly or indirectly taught us by legal documents, the residue, it must be confessed, would be both incoherent and precarious. Not only could we make no attempt to see the nation as an organised and growing whole, but our great men, our Alfred and our Dunstan, would be far more shadowy than they are. Nay, even our battles would have little good fighting in them, and our very ‘kites and crows’ would be phantasmal. Moreover, if we owe to these laws a certain sum of assured knowledge, we owe to them also—and this is hardly less valuable—a certain sum of assured ignorance. When they do not satisfy they at all events stimulate a rational curiosity; and where they do not give us intelligible answers they prompt us to ask intelligent questions—questions which go deep down into the pith and marrow of our national history, but questions that would never have occurred to us if we had nothing to read but chronicles and the lives of saints.

We have spoken of a small body of laws, and small it certainly is. Without translation and apparatus it might be handsomely printed in a hundred and fifty octavo pages. We fancy that in the days of flamboyant draftsmanship a single Act of Parliament sometimes contained more words than have come to us from all the law-givers that lived in England before the Norman Conquest. We have, it will be remembered, a little priceless matter from our first Christian king from Æthelberht of Kent. To

use round figures, we may say that it comes from the year 600. We have a little from his successors upon the Kentish throne; we have more from the West Saxon line (circ. 700), which, however, has passed through the hands of Alfred (circ. 900); and we have a considerable amount from Alfred himself. Then legislation becomes commoner. The tenth century and the first years of the eleventh are illustrated by laws of Edward, Æthelstan, Edmund, Edgar, and Æthelred; and the series ends with the respectably lengthy and luminous code of Cnut the Dane. Besides this, we have a few short statements of legal or customary rules coming to us, not from law-givers, but from presumably learned men—little formularies and so forth, which were transcribed along with the laws and have been slowly disengaged from them by the skill of recent editors.

Such was the territory which was to be explored and cultivated by modern science; and such was the territory which, as some of our neighbours saw, was lying derelict and inviting annexation. Exploration, it is true, was no easy task, especially because—unlike the parallel laws of the continental nations, Goths and Lombards, Franks and Saxons—these old ‘dooms,’ as they call themselves, were written, not in Latin, but in the vernacular, or, in other words, in a language which, for a long time past, has been far less intelligible than Latin to the great mass of fairly educated mankind. Just for this reason, however, these English dooms might claim a prerogative right. Up to a certain point Latin, and even the worst Latin of a dark age, may be generally intelligible; but, as many investigators have of late had occasion to remark, the thoughts of barbarous Teutons were sadly contorted in the process of latinisation. Many a passage, for example, in the code of the Salian Franks, the famous *Lex Salica*, would by this time be far less obscure than it will ever be had it been transmitted to us, not in Latin, but in Frankish words. In this respect, therefore, our English dooms have a singular, a unique, value. It was a value which could but slowly be turned to account, but it became an effective asset as the old English language was gradually reconstructed; and nowadays, in the eyes of every serious student of early medieval history, the Anglo-Saxon laws appear, not merely as good but as supremely good material.

But to speak at greater length of the extent and fertility of the ground that we have lost or are losing would be needless. The control of the Anglo-Saxon laws, which henceforward we shall have to know as 'Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen,' implies a protectorate, to say the least, over some six centuries of English history. Nor is that all, for, as will be remarked below, the people who taught us the word 'hinterland' have taught us also how a hinterland should be treated. But in order to understand what they have done we must go back a little way.

In the middle of the sixteenth century the Anglo-Saxon laws began, if we may so say, to awake from a long sleep. That there had been such things had never been quite forgotten, for a well-known chronicle contained large extracts from one of those Latin translations that were made soon after the Norman Conquest. But, diligent as our lawyers had been in their hunt for ancient documents—and the amount of old manuscript that Anthony Fitzherbert had perused and digested may well astonish us—a limit was set to their investigations. As far back as the boundary of legal memory, as far back as Glanvill, they could pursue their researches not only with interest, but with professional profit. What lay on the other side of that line seemed to belong to another world, and had no points of contact with their practical work. As to an original Anglo-Saxon text, they could hardly have understood one word of it. The fact that their own technical language was not even English but debased French tended to widen a gulf which in any case would have been wide enough.

As Dr Liebermann rightly remarks, the Anglo-Saxon renaissance began in another quarter. We might call it a by-product of the Reformation. So soon as the quarrel with Rome became acute, 'divers sundry old authentick histories and chronicles' were being explored by important people; and a charter in which an English king appeared as a 'Basileus' was passing from hand to hand and exciting comment. A little later, and it seemed possible that, expressed in an unknown tongue and a barely legible script, there lay title-deeds of a national church—title-deeds which told not only of independence, but of purity. And, as a set-off to the dismal tale of pillaged libraries, we may remember that the tools had at length come to

those who would use them—the rescued manuscripts to the hands of those who would be at pains to read them. Pains were required. The casting of a fount of type that would imitate the Old English characters shows us how outlandish to Elizabethan Englishmen was the speech of their forefathers. For the service performed in the cause of history by Matthew Parker, John Joscelyn, and Laurence Nowell we must always be grateful; nor should Bale and Foxe be forgotten, though it was no purely scientific spirit that guided them in their enterprises. It was reserved, however, for Nowell's pupil, that sound lawyer William Lambard, to publish an edition of the Anglo-Saxon laws; and we now have Dr Liebermann's authority for saying that he did his work wonderfully well. That in every five lines or thereabouts of his Latin version he should be guilty of a mistake which his successors can call gross, is only what was to be expected. He was a pioneer in an unknown land.

The first half of the seventeenth century may be regarded as the heroic age of English legal scholarship. Great questions were opening, and on all sides an appeal was being made to ancient law and ancient history. It is true that, as regards very old times, little that was of real value came from the imperious dogmatist who dominated the jurisprudence of his time. When he was on unfamiliar ground Sir Edward Coke was, of all mankind, the most credulous. There was no fable, no forgery, that he would not endorse; and a good many medieval legends and medieval lies passed into currency with his name upon their backs. But in Selden and Spelman England produced two explorers of whom she might well be proud. We are glad to say that in Dr Liebermann's sketch of the work that was done by his predecessors Sir Henry Spelman comes by his rights; and we think it worthy of observation that it was what we nowadays call the comparative method which enabled these illustrious Englishmen to put new life into English history. It has been said with some truth that the man who 'introduced the feudal system into England' was not William the Conqueror, but Henry Spelman; and if, as is usual in such cases, similarities were seen before dissimilarities, still to have begun the comparison was a great achievement; for very true it is that England will

never be known to those who will know nothing else. There are many other names that deserve remembrance—the names of diligent antiquaries. Marvellously diligent they were. Contending with difficulties and discomforts which their luxurious successors can but faintly imagine, they copied and collated and edited. Prynne, for example, munching his crust of bread as with burning zeal he deciphered decaying documents in the filth and stench of the White Tower, is an heroic figure. If we have done little else to help Dr Liebermann, we may at least hope that 'Englands edle Gastfreundschaft' (we are glad to see the phrase) has enabled him to do his work in pleasant surroundings.

In his judgment the editions of the Anglo-Saxon laws which were published by Abraham Wheelock in 1644 and by David Wilkins in 1721 owe their merits more to others than to their editors, who marched rather behind than in front of the linguistic science of their times. That the man whose edition held the field for a century and upwards was of Prussian descent, and that his real name was not Wilkins but Wilke, might be represented as a forecast shadow of future events; but there is little or nothing to show that this industrious professor and archdeacon brought to his task any equipment of foreign learning. Meanwhile linguistic science had been advancing; and, if in this quarter the help of a De Laet and a Dujon had been useful, George Hickes, the nonjuring bishop, had surely shown that at this point England could as yet hold her own.

But general interest in the old laws was failing. They had disappointed reasonable expectations. It is plain enough, for example, that Blackstone does not know what to make of them. And what is one to make of laws which leave it somewhat doubtful whether our Saxon forefathers were possessed of our glorious constitution, with trial by jury and 'habeas corpus,' and all other bulwarks, palladia, checks, balances, commodities, easements, and appurtenances? Unfortunately the forgeries and the fables, the legends and the lies, were much more to the point than those meagre, enigmatical, and altogether 'Gothic' sentences which defied the resources of gentlemanly scholarship.

The study of the old texts never died out altogether.

We might tell of good deeds, but they were done, for the more part, in the antiquary's fashion, and seldom by men of great power. Then in the nineteenth century came the critical moment. Would Englishmen see and understand what was happening in Germany? Would they appreciate and emulate the work of Savigny and Grimm? In particular, would they set themselves to investigate the growth of law and institutions with scientific accuracy and scientific zeal, and, inspired by big thoughts, hold no labour too laborious, no text too obscure, no detail insignificant until all should be known? It can hardly be said that they rose to the occasion. We had our swallows, and beautiful birds they were; but there was spring in Germany. We had our *guerrilleros*; they were valiant and resourceful; but in Germany an army was being organised. Grimm's pupil, Kemble, was in the field, fighting a brave battle for the study of the Old English language and the Old English laws. The great Palgrave was in the field; surely a great commander if an army had been forthcoming. But our English forces, if forces they might be called, were irregulars. Discipline was not their strong point, as the chequered tale of the Record Commissions amply shows. Chequered indeed were the books in which public money was invested; the scandalously bad肘owed the admirably good.

The official edition of the 'Ancient Laws and Institutes of England,' which was published in 1840, fell midway between the two extremes. Dr Liebermann, who is scrupulously fair to his forerunners, goes no farther than truth compels when he says that the book did not meet just expectations. The proof came soon. In 1858 Reinhold Schmid, a professor of law at Bern, without being able to visit England, and consequently without seeing the manuscripts, published a much better edition. A very good book it was, and those who now are laying it aside must feel that they are parting from an old and trusty friend. From that moment the English official edition was superseded. There the matter rested, so far as England was concerned. That the failure should be officially recognised and a new edition put in hand was not to be expected—such confessions of failure are made in Germany; but no Englishman came forward to meet the German challenge, though it must have been suffi-

ciently plain that an edition made by one who had not seen the manuscripts could not be final. The next edition was to be made by Felix Liebermann, at the instance of the Bavarian Academy, at the cost of the Savigny Trust; it was to be beautifully printed at Halle; it was to be dedicated to Konrad von Maurer, or to his memory.

Konrad Maurer—the 'von' came afterwards—was one of our conquerors. He was the son of that Georg Ludwig von Maurer who explored village communities, gave Greece a criminal code, was a prominent statesman in the Bavaria of Lola Montez, died in 1872, and lives for Englishmen in the pages of Sir Henry Maine. Early in the fifties of the last century Konrad reviewed Kemble's book in a series of papers which, though not always to be found even in the best of English libraries, marks a dividing line between two periods. In his hands the study of Anglo-Saxon law passed into a more scientific stage, because it became part of a much larger whole, 'die Germanische Rechtsgeschichte.' Already in 1845 he had won his doctor's degree by a piece of sober comparative jurisprudence, a study of the growth of the noble class among the Teutons; and the Teutonic inhabitants of England had received a full share of his attention. Then, while still a young man, he wrote those memorable papers about Anglo-Saxon law, and he gave the rest of a long life to the subjugation of the Scandinavian north. In 1902, after encouraging and helping Dr Liebermann to the last, he died full of years and honours. None of the honours were English; but he must have known that he had left his mark very deep in the current version of the oldest English history. And so to 'Konrad von Maurer, dem Altmeister der Germanischen Rechtsgeschichte,' this edition of our old laws is dedicated.

There is another of Dr Liebermann's dedications to which it is pleasant to turn. One of the tracts in which he has been giving to the world the result of his researches bears on its forefront these words, 'Dem Andenken an William Stubbs, den Meister der Erforschung und Darstellung Englischer Geschichte im Mittelalter.' Every one of these words is well weighed and well deserved. The grand figure of William Stubbs seems to be destined to become grander and more solitary as the years roll by.

Now the extent to which, in his reconstruction of the age before the Conquest, Dr Stubbs adopted the theories of German pioneers might easily be exaggerated; and exaggeration we have seen. He was a sturdily independent and conservative Englishman, not easy to lead, not easy to persuade, and wholly free from the vanity that parades what is new and what is foreign. Still it is unquestionable that he had learned much from Waitz and Schmid and Maurer; and his willingness to look for good books beyond the four seas was an essential trait in his greatness. Also it was natural that the German influence should be most perceptible in the most purely legal part of his work. Englishmen were beginning to think of talking about 'comparative jurisprudence' while Germans had been steadily making it. That prematurely ambitious theories, 'evolved from the depths of the inner consciousness,' had seen the light in Germany no one would deny. But their short reign was over, and sanity, modesty, and caution were in the order of the day. If we must name one example of the sort of work to which we refer, let it be Wilda's 'Strafrecht der Germanen'; and let the date upon its title-page, 1842, be noted. Was it, then, unnatural that Dr Stubbs should look abroad? How much remained to be done before the Anglo-Saxon laws and the law-books of the Norman age would be a well-mapped country he was fully aware. How he welcomed Dr Liebermann to England, Dr Liebermann has told; and we wish that we could repeat the terms in which the Bishop of Oxford explained to the University of Cambridge how well this German visitor deserved his honorary degree; we have warrant for saying that they were warm and forcible.

Whether the study of the Old English language, and the family of languages to which it belongs, flourished in the England of the nineteenth century with all desirable prosperity is a question about which we offer no decided opinion, though we fancy that here also the tale that has to be told is rather of rare swallows than of genial spring. The main deficiency, so it seems to us, did not lie in this quarter. The laws, on the interpretation of which the whole historical scheme depends, were left severely alone, while Bede and the Chronicle and the homilies attracted editors, and Asser was supremely fortunate in the hands

of Mr Stevenson. But where schools of law do not flourish the history of law will not be adequately studied, and the consequence will be that the march of the whole historical army, and especially of those new regiments, economic and social history, will be seriously retarded. Whether we like it or not, the fact remains that, before we can get at the social or economic kernel of ancient times, we must often peel off a legal husk that requires careful manipulation. It will not be supposed that we are bringing any general accusation against such law schools as we have had. Of late years there has been a very marked improvement in our text-books of current law—in the 'dogmatic' of law, as a German would say—and it is directly traceable to a few men who have believed that law can be taught. We freely admit that this is far more important work than that of training editors for barbarous codes. Nor do we in any way regret the gallant efforts that have been made to keep a few Englishmen interested in the classical law of Rome. All things considered, this may have been the best available preventive against that fatal disease of contented insularity which so easily besets us. Still the Victorian age came and went without Englishmen having written a tithe of the legal and institutional history that might reasonably have been expected of them. We have not forgotten Sir Henry Maine. Who could forget the world-wide horizon, the penetrating glance, the easy grace, the pointed phrase? But, to blurt out an unfashionable truth, there were qualities in his work, or in his presentment of his work, which would have served to better purpose in a land of laborious pedantry than where men are readily persuaded that hard labour is disagreeable and that the signs of hard labour are disgusting. That old fable needs revision. Perhaps the Frenchman is a little reluctant to do more than 'cultivate his garden'—a well-arranged garden it is nowadays; it is the German who seeks the wilderness, while the Englishman remains at the fireside or elegantly strolls down 'the high priori road.'

When once it was apparent that our own old laws would only become eloquent when they were placed among their kinsfolk, the question was whether Englishmen would master foreign law, or whether foreigners

would master English law. That question was soon closed; or rather we pay ourselves too high a compliment if we suppose that it ever was open. Extravagance could go no farther than to expect that an Englishman would devote his life to an edition of—we will not say of the *Sachsenspiegel* or the *Grágás* or the *Siete Partidas*—but of those Norman customals which are almost English. It is all very well to be modest, to believe that foreigners know their own business, to believe that M. Tardif or M. Viollet knows more of Normandy than you will ever learn; but in these days of international science we must be invaders or invaded, and if we will not dump we must not complain of dumping; no tariff can protect us. There came a Russian scholar to teach us, among many other interesting things, that all that we had been saying about the folk-land was untrue. We bowed our heads in meek submission, and not one English lance was broken in defence of orthodoxy. Happily Oxford's 'edle Gastfreundschaft'—to her great honour be it said—saved the situation, and made a professor of Dr Vinogradoff.

The sureness of Dr Liebermann's tread in a province that Englishmen have almost abandoned gives occasion for one other remark. The province to which we refer is the history of ecclesiastical law. Now it is unquestionable that in Victorian England a vast part of the best work that was done for medieval history was done by clerks in holy orders. It would be far too little to say that in this, as in many other quarters, the Church of England fully maintained her reputation as a learned Church. What is more, it was the clergyman that taught the lawyer about the Middle Ages, not the lawyer that taught the clergyman. Nevertheless it must be confessed that a field which lies (if we may so say) within view from the vicarage window is not being tilled very zealously or in conformity with the methods of modern science. To be concrete, we might ask whether Stubbs's edition of the English Councils is always to remain a fragment. We might ask how it came about that an extraordinarily interesting tract written by a canon of York concerning the relation between Church and State was carried off as lawful prize for the '*Monumenta Germaniae*' from under the guns of the Cambridge divines. We might ask whether Boehmer's indictment of Lanfranc as one of

the most unscrupulous of forgers is to be answered, or whether the fair fame of an archbishop of Canterbury is to have no defender. We might ask why a young German student of divinity should have a chance of writing so good and so new a book as Boehmer's 'Church and State in England and Normandy.' We should have thought that the whole story of papal encroachments—a story that might be told not in vague outline but realistically out of countless edited and unedited documents—would have been singularly attractive to some of our learned clerks, for there is much in it on which Anglicans might dwell with pride. The fault is not theirs. They have had none to guide them among legal snares and to tell them of the revolutionary work that has been accomplished in Germany and Italy and France. Where law schools do not flourish ecclesiastical history may be good as far as it goes, but it will never go to the end.

When we turn from our own modest output to the tons of books concerning legal history which Germany produced in the nineteenth century, it is right to remember that during a great part of that period our neighbours were being spurred forward by an incitement to study such as we have never felt and they are not likely to feel again. When the famous 'historical school' began its career, the legal condition of Germany was deplored by all those for whom Germany was more than a name. How could this miserable state of affairs be remedied? To what causes was it due? Whence would deliverance come? From a closer study of those Roman texts which constituted such 'common law' as Germany possessed? from the disinterment of old Germanic principles? from the observation of neighbouring and less unfortunate nations? We do not detract from the scientific value of the best work that was done if we remember that the motive force was not mere curiosity. When once the impulse had been given, men would labour in regions far remote from the practical life of their own time with no hope of any reward except a few new grains of truth. Still the impulse, a patriotic, a national, and we might even call it a utilitarian impulse, was requisite. And now we see the result of it all. This people of pedants and dreamers, of antiquaries and metaphysicians, after discussing the history of every legal term and every legal

idea, has made for itself what is out and away the best code that the world has yet seen.

It is currently said that this interdependence of historical research and practical endeavour is now being illustrated in another way. It is said that legal history is losing its interest; that young Germans will study nothing but the 'Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch'; that famous teachers have now no time for anything else; that even Roman law is being deserted. A warning issued by Bekker, Brunner, Mitteis, and Mommsen is, we should suppose, likely to receive attention in the proper quarter. If not, the world will be the poorer and Germany will not be the richer, except perhaps in the wealth that perishes. One title to honour will have been forfeited, and neither success in arms nor success in commerce will wholly fill the vacant place. Dr Liebermann's book, however, reconstructed the praetor's edict and discovered the origin of trial by jury and tracked the false Isidore to his lair. And, since we have mentioned German wealth and German honour, we will allow ourselves two remarks, one of which may deserve consideration in some English, and the other in some German circles. We believe that the man who put fourteen years of the hardest drudgery into an edition of the Anglo-Saxon laws had, as some Englishmen would reckon, no valid reason for living 'laborious days,' but 'scorned delights' which he might have tasted to the full. We believe also that this man, whom we in England can regard as a good representative of what is best in Germany, is one whom what is worst in Germany, the blatant sham science of her Philistines, would ban as 'ungermanisch.' Well, there are fools everywhere; but we in England are not going to dispute the Englishry of our great Sir Francis Palgrave.

On the present occasion we will say but little of what has been done for the Anglo-Saxon laws, properly so called, for, as already said, some notes are yet to come. But already we have a translation of a very excellent kind—a translation from which even those who have but a slight acquaintance with the Old English tongue may gather both what a laconic legislator has said, and also what he has meant to an editor skilled in the early history of Teutonic law. We shall run no risk in saying that by

this new version all older versions are superseded. As to the text, we do not like to speak of finality, but have great difficulty in imagining what more could have been done. In particular, students of language will, so we think, be hard to please if Dr Liebermann has not given them material enough. Rejecting less exhaustive methods, he has printed in parallel columns the texts that are given by all the leading manuscripts. We open the book; we see alongside each other three different English texts of the laws of Cnut and three different Latin versions of the same, while the new German translation fills the bottom of the page. It looks like the full score of an opera, and some time must be spent before we can master the manifold typographical devices which have been invented to save time and space. At first sight the editor seems to have a rooted objection to printing six consecutive words without a change of type; and the natural man sighs for the simplicity of a pianoforte arrangement. But unquestionably all this elaborate technique, which must have taxed to their uttermost the resources of a great printing house, will be highly valued by philologists. Want of imagination has been a common fault in editors. A little difference in spelling, for example, seems to you too trivial for notice. A few years go by; science strides forward; you can be accused of jumbling two dialects together; and then your work must be done over again. Never, it is rightly said, is a long day; but we fancy that a long day will pass before Dr Liebermann is charged with insufficiently minding his p's and q's. It would be admitted on all hands nowadays that the oldest monuments of the English language deserve as much care as an English, or any other, editor would ungrudgingly spend upon the most worthless scrap of classical Greek; but we fear that we have been slow to take this truth to heart. A characteristic example occurs on Dr Liebermann's first page. There is a word, now partly illegible, in the only medieval manuscript that gives the very earliest of all the laws. The English editor can only tell us of a guess. It struck Dr Liebermann that what cannot be read now could perhaps be read in the sixteenth century by one of those antiquarian worthies who sometimes copied the more accurately because they hardly aspired to understand what they were copying. And so a very 'secondary

source,' Francis Tate's transcript of a manuscript that is still in our hands, solves the difficulty. Why did not we think of it?

But we shall be on yet surer ground if we turn to the law-books of the Norman time, for during the last twelve years or thereabouts Dr Liebermann has been slowly telling his tale about them in various pamphlets, and we hardly know where to lay our hands upon better specimens of modern research. It is true that his pamphlets are not always easy reading. In his desire for compression he becomes algebraic. We very much wish that he would now be persuaded to step, as it were, between his severer self and an ignorant, but not unteachable, British public. After all this fatiguing research a little 'high vulgarisation,' as the French call it, would be a pleasant kind of relaxation. Many scattered remarks show that he has a good eye for men and movements as well as for laws and language. He might teach us much of parties and policies, of efforts and ideals, much even that Freeman did not teach and could not; for, with reverence be it said, Freeman's healthy contempt for lawyers did not always improve the quality of his work when 'past politics' were to be discovered in legal documents.

We have spoken of a hinterland. It is curious that these law-books of the Norman age should naturally present themselves as a hinterland, as a region into which we can penetrate only by passing through the laws of a yet older time, or as a mass of matter whose destined place is the appendix. Yet that is the traditional, and it still seems the right place. What is under examination refuses to look like a prologue; it is an epilogue. These books—'book' is rather too grand a name for some of them—are the product of a very strange, and perhaps we might say a unique, state of affairs. The conquering Frenchmen have no written laws, or none to speak of, and they have no law-books of their own. The conquered Englishmen have a considerable mass of written laws ending with the code of Cnut. The official theory tells of unbroken continuity. William has inherited the crown from his cousin, and, upon the whole, is well satisfied with the rights that the old English laws will give him. And yet, despite official theory, the whole law is being rapidly

changed, until at length the theoretic crust falls in and a new formation is displayed in Glanvill's orderly treatise. The honest books of this confused and confusing time try their best—a very bad best it often is—to reconcile theory and fact; and then people who are not scrupulously honest begin to tinker and to tamper, to forge and to fudge in the interest of classes and professions and programmes. A wild hinterland it has been, full of gins and snares, peopled by uncouth monsters, 'anthropophagi and men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders.' Roads were slowly made into it. No admiration for 'the last German book' must induce us to forget how much good road-making was done by Selden and Spelman, by Twysden and Somner, by Allen and Palgrave, by Schmid and Stubbs. Still it is the simple truth that the credit of having surveyed the whole territory, of having classified its grotesque fauna, of having reduced the savage inhabitants to order, falls to Dr Liebermann. There are warnings in legible German now over most of the pitfalls, and even where the hill is dangerous to cyclists. The chimera can no longer prey upon the reasonably cautious traveller, and will soon be harnessed to the historian's plough. And let it be remembered that this hinterland is auriferous. A stage in the history of law and thought and manners which is represented in England by these obscure texts is represented elsewhere by an obscurer silence. The English twilight between moon and sun, between the laws of Cnut and Glanvill's treatise, is not very brilliant; but there is dark night in other lands.

One of the most interesting of the strange people, the anthropophagi, whom Dr Liebermann has interviewed is the latest of them, a Londoner of John's day, so it seems, who forges in the interest of a political and municipal programme. In some respects it was a by no means irrational programme, though the manner in which he sought to forward it was singularly unscrupulous. An imperialist he was with a witness. In his view the King of England was by rights lord or emperor not only of Wales and Scotland, but also of 'all the adjacent islands with their appurtenances,' a very extensive region floating in a haze of mysterious geography. Round his cave were human bones in plenty.

Some of his products had, indeed, long been known as the lies that they were—not fables, but lies told with intent to deceive. But here for the first time his offences are brought home to him. The indictment is long, and it comprises, among its many counts, a crime of the first order, the concoction of that famous letter which Pope Eleutherus did not write to Lucius, King of Britain. For some time past this letter, which used to play a part in Anglo-Roman controversy, has been stigmatised as forger's work, though Dr Liebermann is able to say, to our surprise, that so late as 1892 it was seriously cited. But who was the forger? A singularly convincing argument enables us now to hold with some certainty that he was the man who interpolated his civic and imperialistic conceits into the laws of Alfred and Ine, and that the scene of his nefarious operations was not remote from the Guildhall of London. It is pleasant to remember that an article in the 'Quarterly Review' delivered mankind from the tyranny of the false Ingulf.* To see the pseudo-Eleutherus writhing under Dr Liebermann's cross-examination would have delighted Sir Francis Palgrave.

But by far the most important of these men of the twilight is the most puzzling of them all. He is the man who schemes a comprehensive law-book which Dr Liebermann, with fairly good warrant, calls the *Quadripartitus*. He is also the man who, having but little English, painfully translates into some sort of Latin the Anglo-Saxon laws, returning again and again to his task as his knowledge increases. He is also the man who composes the treatise that we know as the '*Leges Henrici*.' A most puzzling person he is, even when Dr Liebermann has written a life of him. That life is of necessity a series of inferences. Some of them we may dispute; but the biographer always allows us to see precisely what he is doing. If from time to time he seems to be acuter than a man should be, recalling those dear Red Indians of our youth and the Sherlock Holmes of to-day, he always tells us what is the basis of ascertained fact upon which he proposes to build. If, for example, we are told that this man is not of English race, that he is not a monk, that he is a cleric, that he has served the Archbishop of York,

* 'Quarterly Review,' No. 67 (June 1820).

that he has the run of a considerable library, that he is a justice of the King's Court, we know the premises from which these conclusions are deduced. Dr Liebermann is not one of those who, in the name of a false art, pull down the scaffolding when the house is built—one of the worst crimes against history that the historian can commit. We can climb if we please, and form our own opinions as to the strength of the structure, for all is visible. For our own part we have struggled long against one of Dr Liebermann's conclusions, namely, that this queer being, striving to make himself understood, is not only professionally engaged in the work of the law but sits among King Henry's justices. But the evidence that is brought to bear upon this point is not easily resistible; and Dr Liebermann helps us in many ways to understand the legal, political, social environment in which a royal justice, who was also a churchman with some unusual erudition, could aim so high and fall so low: could be so ambitious, so learned, so industrious, and yet so incapable of arranging his materials or explaining his thoughts.

Keen criticism of literary style is one of the tools in Dr Liebermann's workshop. It is a highly useful weapon when anonymous products are to be dated or a forger is to be confronted with his handiwork, and yet we fancy that it will be almost news to many Englishmen that this weapon can be used not only—no one would doubt that—where literary style is reasonably good, but also, and with even greater effect, where style is abominably bad. As a relic of the old belief 'that all the Middle Ages lived at the same time,' there remains, we will not say a belief, but a disposition to think that all 'low' Latin is equally low. Really, however, the style of these 'Leges Henrici' is as distinctive as style could be: marvellously different from the glib Latinity of Lanfranc and his scholars. It is a highly distinctive compound of the worst sort of windy rhetoric and the mere dog-Latin of a man who is thinking in French about Anglo-Saxon technicalities. There is a repellent preface to one of his works. We fear that an English editor would have thought that he had done enough for the sorry stuff when he had complained of its turgidity. Not so Dr Liebermann. The miserable man is not allowed to finish his first sentence before the detective has found a clue. 'Did you say *nullis aduersi-*

tatum liuoribus obatrescit? Pardon me, but that is a Firmicianism. You have come under the influence of the astrologer, Julius Firmicus Maternus; and that is another link between you and Archbishop Gerard, who, to the scandal of all right-thinking Christians, died—at least, so the High Church people said—with this necromancer's book under his pillow.' But it will be easier for Englishmen to recover any ground that they may have lost in this literary quarter than to appear once more as the best interpreters of ancient English law. Those who, like Dr Brunner, have seen it, not in taciturn isolation, but in the converse of the family circle, have been Dr Liebermann's guides and must for a long while be ours.

One pressing task remains. We have lost the Anglo-Saxon laws. Can we retain the Anglo-Saxon charters, those numerous 'land-books' which must be re-edited if the first period of English history is ever to be well understood? Kemble was a great man, but, even according to the standard of his own time, he was not a very good editor of legal documents; and now, owing to the progress that has been made by various studies, linguistic, legal, and diplomatic, the standard has been raised by many degrees. That it is not unattainable by Englishmen, Professor Napier and Mr Stevenson have fully proved by their masterly treatment of a few lucky charters which had escaped less expert hands. Dr Liebermann salutes their work as the beginning of a new era. At this point we have a great advantage. All else may go; but those very acres that the old kings 'booked' lie where they always lay, and the identification of places and the perambulation of boundaries is a highly necessary part of the work that awaits the coming editor. Moreover, at the hither end of the charters stands Domesday Book; and that book is not the riddle that it was when Mr Round began his brilliant researches. We have a long start, a favourable handicap, but, to continue the metaphor, the odds are against us. It may be that Berlin will emulate the enterprise of Munich, that the 'Savigny-Stiftung' will make yet another grant in aid of British indigence, and that the England that the Normans conquered will be not less thoroughly conquered a second time.

Art. VIII.—THE NOVELS OF SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE.

Collected Edition. Smith, Elder: London, 1903.

IF this country's education were conducted on truly scientific principles, we ought to have statistics of the great Novel industry. It is not enough to know how many copies of popular novels are sold; on that point the publishers often give us ample information. From 80,000 to 150,000 copies of a novel that really reaches the heart of the English people are promptly disposed of; and, allowing only ten readers for each copy, the millions are plainly being influenced by our authors of genius. This is a grave thought for conscientious novelists; the making of the spiritual life of England is in their hands. They feel it, and are all but overborne by the too vast orb of their responsibilities. In their photographs, which accompany the reports of interviews with them, we mark with sympathy the ponderous brow, supported by the finger so deft on the type-writing machine; and, as we read the interview, we listen to the voice that has whispered so many thousands of words into the phonograph.

The popular novelists of England and of America are serious men; they occupy, at least in their own opinion, a position which, since the days of the great Hebrew prophets, has been held by few sons of earth. Now and again they descend, as it were, from the mountain and wearily tell the world the story of their aims, their methods, and their early struggles, before they were discovered by enterprising publishers, before their books provided the text of many a sermon, just as did Mr Richardson's 'Pamela.'

These men and women are our social, spiritual, religious, and political teachers. This is an important fact, for their readers take fiction seriously; their lives are being directed, their characters are being framed, by authors such as Mr Hall Caine, Miss Marie Corelli, Mr Anthony Hope, Mr Rudyard Kipling, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. Unluckily we have, for lack of statistics, no means of knowing the nature and limits of the moulding of character and direction of life exercised by these energetic authors. Can it be possible that they

sometimes neutralise each other's effects, and that the earnest reader of Mr Wells finds the seeds of his doctrine blown away on the winds of the mighty message of Mr Hall Caine? Does the inquirer who sets out to follow the star of Miss Marie Corelli become bewildered and 'pixy-led,' as they say in Devonshire, by the will-o'-the-wisps of Mr Kipling?

The serious writers on 'the Novel,' in the Press, like the late Mr Norris, author of 'The Octopus,' assure us that all is well, that the Novel is, or ought to be, everything; that the novelist is our inspired teacher in matters theological, social, political, and perhaps (when we think of Mr H. G. Wells) scientific; not to mention that the historical novelist writes the only sort of history which should be, and which is, read by the world. But the pity of it is that novelists, like other teachers, differ vastly in doctrine among themselves; so that, if we read all the popular authors, we 'come out,' like Omar Khayyám, 'no wiser than we went,' but rather perplexed in our intellects.

The owners of the stores in America which gave away a celebrated British novel as a bounty on soap, are said to have expressed themselves thus:—

'Our hands were never half so clean,
Our customers agree;
And our beliefs have never been
So utterly at sea.'

The beliefs of the public may, of course, be brought back to dry land by some more orthodox novelist, but the whole process is unsettling. Yet it may be that the populace, in various sections, cleaves to one teacher, neglecting others. Do the devotees of Miss Marie Corelli read the discourses of Mr Hall Caine; and do the faithful of Mrs Ward peruse either, or both, of the other two spiritual guides? Lacking the light of statistics we can only guess that they do not; that the circles of these authors never intersect each other, but keep apart; just as a pious Mussulman does not study 'Hymns Ancient and Modern,' while a devotee of Mr Swinburne seldom declines upon 'The Christian Year.' Meanwhile the mere critic fails to extract a concrete body of doctrine from the discourses of any of our teachers.

Concerning Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, who is, we trust, nearly as popular as any teacher, it may be said with gratitude that he aims at entertaining rather than at instructing his generation. We venture to think that the contemplative and speculative elements in his nature are subordinate to the old-fashioned notion that a novelist should tell a plain tale. A handsome and uniform edition of his works lies before us, with manly, brief, and modest prefaces by the author. The volumes are fair to see; the type and paper are good, though the printing is not incapable of correction, and the spelling is sporadically American.

There are authors whom we like best in stately 'library editions,' others whom we prefer in first editions—of such are Keats and Charles Lamb; and, handsome as is the *format* of Sir Arthur's collected works, there are a few of them which please us most 'in the native pewter.' Now the native pewter of Sherlock Holmes is a sixpenny magazine, with plenty of clever illustrations; he takes better in these conditions than in a sumptuous text with only one or two pictures. Sir Arthur is an unaffected writer. His style is not 'a separate ecstasy,' as in the case of Mr R. L. Stevenson's writings; his is a simple narrative manner. He does not pass hours in hunting for *le mot propre*; and a phrase is apparently none the worse in his eyes because it is an old favourite of the public, and familiar to the press and the platform. However, like Aucassin in the *cantefable*, 'we love a plain tale even better than none,' and love anything better than the dull and tormented matter of the prigs who, having nothing that deserves to be said, say it in a style which standeth in an utterly false following of Mr George Meredith. 'The Author's Edition' is a delightful set for a smoking room in a club or in a country house.

By a laudable arrangement, Sir Arthur has confined his speculative and contemplative exercises to a pair of books, 'The Stark Munro Letters' and 'A Duet.' In the former, a young man has his 'first fight' (not at all in the style of the author's 'Rodney Stone') 'with the spiritual and material difficulties which confront him at the outset of life. There is no claim that his outlook is either profound or original.' Indeed his outlook is not remarkable for subtlety or distinction. Sir Arthur is not

a Pascal; and, if he were, his '*Pensées*,' presented in a work of fiction, would fail to exhilarate. As he says, Tom Jones and Arthur Pendennis and Richard Feverel 'do not indicate their relation to those eternal problems which are really the touchstone and centre of all character.' Thank heaven they do not!

An eternal problem can hardly be 'the centre of a character'; and, if it were, we do not always pine to read a novel about an eternal problem. A little of '*Obermann*' goes a long way. If a problem is eternal it has obviously never been solved; and what chance had Thomas Jones, a foundling, of solving eternal problems? As for Pen, he frankly abandoned the attempt. The narrator in the '*Stark Munro Letters*' ends his speculation by deciding that 'something might be done by throwing all one's weight on the scale of breadth, tolerance, charity, temperance, peace, and kindliness to man and beast.' Having arrived at this acceptable solution, we do not care to follow the mental processes by which the young thinker reaches the result. We have ever been of his mature opinion, which, moreover, has the sanction of the Church, and of the best heathen and Christian philosophers.

There is no speculation and no preaching of doctrines, no nonsense about a 'message' or a 'mission,' in the rest of Sir Arthur's books, where the good people are plucky, kind, and honourable, while the bad people are usually foiled in their villainous machinations. The quality which recommends Sir Arthur's stories to his readers, and to ourselves, is a quality which cannot be taught or learned; which no research, or study, or industry can compass; which is born with a man; which can hold its own without the aid of an exquisite style; and which is essential. Sir Arthur can tell a story so that you read it with ease and pleasure. He does not shine as a creator of character. Perhaps Micah Clarke, an honest English Porthos, is the best of his quite serious creations; while Sherlock Holmes, not so seriously intended, has become a proverb, like Monsieur Lecoq. But Brigadier Gerard is Sir Arthur's masterpiece; we never weary of that brave, stupid, vain, chivalrous being, who hovers between General Marbot and Thackeray's Major Geoghegan, with all the merits of both, and with others of his own.

The ladies who pass through the novels play their parts, and are excellent young women in their rôles, but they are not to be very distinctly remembered, or very fondly adored. There is not a Sophia Western, an Amelia, a Diana Vernon, a Becky Sharpe, an Anne Elliot, a Beatrix Esmond, or a Barbara Grant, in their ranks; and indeed such characters are scarce in all fiction. The greatest masters but seldom succeed in creating immortal women; only Shakespeare has his quiver full of such children as these. In short, we read Sir Arthur Conan Doyle for the story, and are very glad that we have such stories to read; rapid, varied, kindly, and honest narratives. As Mr Arthur Pendennis remarked about his ancestral claret, 'there is not a headache in a hogshead' of them.

We shall first glance at Sir Arthur's historical novels, 'Micah Clarke,' 'The White Company,' 'The Refugees,' and 'Rodney Stone.' The public is very far from sharing the opinion professed by James II. in exile, that 'history is much more instructive than novels, and quite as amusing.' For ourselves we deem his Majesty's own historical work vastly more entertaining than any novel written during his lifetime; but, in the opinion of the public, history only exists as material for historical romances, just as the engineer said that rivers exist for the purpose of feeding navigable canals.

Sir Arthur's earlier historical novels are influenced, more than he probably suspects, by those of Sir Walter Scott. 'Micah Clarke,' like Mr Blackmore's 'Lorna Doone,' is a tale of the last romantic rebellion with a base in England—the futile attempt of Monmouth. The big Porthos-like hero is, in some ways, akin to John Ridd; but he occupies, as regards politics and religion, the *juste milieu* that Sir Walter favoured when he wrote history, and assigned to such romantic heroes of his own as Henry Morton, and even Roland Graeme. Though 'a simple-hearted unlettered yeoman,' Micah Clarke is really wise with the wisdom of the later Victorian time, and, in one remark, speaks as if he had read Mr Herbert Spencer with approval, so far as the problems of religion are concerned. He takes a calm view of history, and is no fanatic of the Protestantism of his period—that of Titus Oates. 'The mob's ideas of Papistry were mixed up with

thumbscrews' (not a Catholic implement, by the way) 'and Fox's Martyrology.' Micah is the son of a church-woman, and a Puritan, and himself has no particular bent, except in favour of freedom and fighting. 'I believed that there was good in Papistry, Church, Dissent, but that not one was worth the spilling of human blood.' King James was the rightful King, and Monmouth, black box and all, was a bastard, to Micah's mind; but, as fighting was toward, he fought for the son of Luey Walters.

Decimus Saxon, the pedantic soldier of fortune, a most entertaining character, with his Latin and his professional skill, his indifference as to the cause for which he draws his sword, and his eye for 'caduacs and casualties,' is an English Dalgetty, and almost as amusing as the immortal laird of Drumthwacket, 'that should be.' He is a grandson, as it were, of Dugald's father, Sir James Turner, who was learned, but not pedantic, and a far better-hearted man than either Decimus or Dugald. Indeed Decimus 'doth somewhat lean to cutpurse of quick hand.' A more original character is the 'Malignant' Monmouthite, the ruined, kind, dandified, and reckless Sir Gervas Gerome, so full of fight and foppery.

Rather to the surprise of the reader, at a given moment, while escorting a preacher and his rustic flock of 'slashing communicants' to join Monmouth, Decimus suddenly ceases to be Dalgetty, and becomes John Balfour, called Burley. A cornet of the King's Horse approaches the psalm-singing conventicle with a flag of truce, and we quote what follows.

"Who is the leader of this conventicle?" he asked.

"Address your message to me, sir," said our leader from the top of the waggon, "but understand that your white flag will only protect you whilst you use such words as may come from one courteous adversary to another. Say your say or retire."

"Courtesy and honour," said the officer with a sneer, "are not for rebels who are in arms against their lawful king. If you are the leader of this rabble, I warn you if they are not dispersed within five minutes by this watch"—he pulled out an elegant gold time-piece—"we shall ride down upon them and cut them to pieces."

"The Lord can protect His own," Saxon answered, amid a fierce hum of approval from the crowd. "Is this all thy message?"

"It is all, and you will find it enough, you Presbyterian traitor," cried the dragoon cornet. "Listen to me, you fools," he continued, standing up upon his stirrups and speaking to the peasants at the other side of the waggon. "What chance have ye with your whittles and cheese-scrapers? Ye may yet save your skins if ye will but give up your leaders, throw down what ye are pleased to called your arms, and trust to the King's mercy."

"This exceeds the limits of your privileges," said Saxon, drawing a pistol from his belt and cocking it. "If you say another word to draw these people from their allegiance, I fire."

"Hope not to help Monmouth," cried the young officer, disregarding the threat, and still addressing his words to the peasants. "The whole royal army is drawing round him and——"

"Have a care!" shouted our leader, in a deep, harsh voice.

"His head within a month shall roll upon the scaffold."

"But you shall never live to see it," said Saxon, and stooping over he fired straight at the cornet's head. At the flash of the pistol the trumpeter wheeled round and rode for his life, while the roan horse turned and followed with its master still seated firmly in the saddle.

Here we have Drumclog, and Cornet Graham, and Burley's slaying of him under a flag of truce, with his excuse for so doing, all over again; whereof the author must have been as unconscious as Sir Walter himself when he annexed a verse by the poetical valet of his friend Rose. The Shirra justly said that, like Captain Bobadil, he 'had taught many gentlemen to write almost or altogether as well as himself.' This English Drumclog ends like the other, after a pretty fight; and the adventurers reach Taunton, where the condition of that unhappy and pious town, and of Monmouth's scythemen and other rude levies, is depicted with much fire and energy. The hero, with great self-sacrifice, hands over the love-making business to a humorous friend named Reuben, and is free to devote himself to manly adventure. At this point comes the news of the failure of Argyll; and Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth and Sir John Cochrane

(whom Claverhouse had prophetically damned) receive from Decimus the same critical hard measure as Macaulay gives them. 'The expedition was doomed from the first with such men at its head,' says Decimus—with truth; for Argyll, if alone, would have been safe, though the Lowland leaders, in any case, being odious to the Remnant, could have raised no stir in Scotland.

Monmouth himself appears to us to be very well designed, though he was more fair to outward view than he seemed in the eyes of Micah Clarke. Though his Stuart blood was doubted by all but Charles II, his weakness, waywardness, and loss of nerve when Sedgemoor fight went against him, were quite in the vein of the Chevalier de St George at Montrose, of Queen Mary at Langside, and of Charles Edward in the first hours after Culloden. Each one of that forlorn four had shown courage enough on other fields, but as leaders of a lost hope the terror of betrayal overmastered them. Unlike the rest, Monmouth was a sentimentalist of the most modern fashion. A worse commander could not have been found for a very bad cause.

Robert Ferguson is described as almost a maniac from sheer vanity; but the unique character of the Plotter cannot be unriddled in a novel, if it can be unriddled at all. Still, we do not recognise him when he speaks to Monmouth in the wildest manner of the Remnant. 'Why was Argyll cutten off? Because he hadna due faith in the workings o' the Almighty, and must needs reject the help o' the children o' light in favour o' the bare-legged children o' Prelacy, wha are half Pagan, half Popish.' The terms do not apply to the Campbells; and Ferguson had humour enough if Dalrymple says truly that he tided over a day's lack of supplies by inducing Monmouth to proclaim a solemn fast for the success of his arms. Probably Sir Arthur bases his account of Ferguson's demeanour on a passage of Burnet: 'Ferguson ran among the people with all the fury of an enraged man that affected to pass for an enthusiast, though all his performances that way were forced and dry.' He would not perform in this forced way before Monmouth.

Micah's personal adventures are excellent romantic reading, especially his captivity in a mysterious dungeon whence the most experienced reader, though he knows

that the hero must escape, cannot imagine how he is to do it. Through 'The Onfall at Sedgemoor' the author, like Scott at Flodden, 'never stoops his wing,' for Sir Arthur is a master in the rare skill of describing a battle with lucidity and picturesque vigour. There is no better account of Waterloo, from the private soldier's point of view, than that given in his brief novel, 'The Great Shadow'; and Sedgemoor also is excellent.

The picture of Judge Jeffreys may be cited: probably it is quite accurate; yet Dryden admired this man!

'Last of all, drawn by six long-tailed Flemish mares, came a great open coach, thickly crusted with gold, in which, reclining amidst velvet cushions, sat the infamous Judge, wrapped in a cloak of crimson plush with a heavy white periwig upon his head, which was so long that it dropped down over his shoulders. They say that he wore scarlet in order to strike terror into the hearts of the people, and that his courts were for the same reason draped in the colour of blood. As for himself, it hath ever been the custom, since his wickedness hath come to be known to all men, to picture him as a man whose expression and features were as monstrous and as hideous as was the mind behind them. This is by no means the case. On the contrary, he was a man who, in his younger days, must have been remarkable for his extreme beauty.* He was not, it is true, very old, as years go, when I saw him, but debauchery and low living had left their traces upon his countenance, without, however, entirely destroying the regularity and the beauty of his features. He was dark, more like a Spaniard than an Englishman, with black eyes and olive complexion. His expression was lofty and noble, but his temper was so easily aflame that the slightest cross or annoyance would set him raving like a madman, with blazing eyes and foaming mouth. I have seen him myself with the froth upon his lips and his whole face twitching with passion, like one who hath the falling sickness. Yet his other emotions were under as little control, for I have heard say that a very little would cause him to sob and to weep, more especially when he had himself been slighted by those who were above him.'

'Micah Clarke' is a long novel of five hundred and

* 'The painting of Jeffreys in the National Portrait Gallery more than bears out Micah Clarke's remarks. He is the handsomest man in the collection.' (Author's note.)

seventy pages; but nobody, when he has finished it, remembers that it is long—which is praise enough for any romance.

In the preface to 'Micah Clarke' the author says:—

'To me it always seems that the actual condition of a country at any time, a true sight of it with its beauties and brutalities, its life as it really was, its wayside hazards and its odd possibilities, are (*sic*) of greater interest than the small aims and petty love story of any human being. The lists, the woodlands, and the outlaws are more to me than Rebecca and Rowena.'

Passe pour Rowena, but surely Diana Vernon or Beatrix Esmond is not of inferior interest to Locksley, Friar Tuck, and the lists of Ashby de la Zouche? 'To others the story of one human heart may be more than all the glamour of an age, and to these I feel that I have little to offer.'

This is very true, and marks one of Sir Arthur's limitations. He does not interest us in love affairs, or in his women. Fielding could not only give us life 'with its wayside hazards,' but also bring us acquainted with Amelia and Sophia, whom to have known is great part of a liberal education, in the famous old phrase. In 'The White Company' we have lists, indeed, and a scene reminiscent of that immortal passage in 'Ivanhoe,' where the Disinherited Knight smites, with the point, the shield of the Templar. Sir Arthur's romance of Froissart's age in some ways resembles 'The Cloister and the Hearth'; its main interest lies in its 'wayside hazards,' whether in England, or with the wandering White Company in southern France. The hero, leaving the monastery where he has been educated with that useful old favourite a gigantic, hard-hitting lay-brother, John of Hordle, marches to join a very good knight of fantastic chivalry, Sir Nigel Loring, and fights under his standard, south of the Pyrenees. It is a tale of swords and bows, and we cannot refrain from quoting 'The Song of the Bow,' which provokes the very unusual wish that the author had written more verse.

'What of the bow?

The bow was made in England

Of true wood, of yew wood'

The wood of English bows;
 So men who are free
 Love the old yew-tree
 And the land where the yew-tree grows.

What of the cord?
 The cord was made in England:
 A rough cord, a tough cord,
 A cord that bowmen love;
 And so we will sing
 Of the hempen string
 And the land where the cord was wove.

What of the shaft?
 The shaft was cut in England:
 A long shaft, a strong shaft,
 Barbed and trim and true;
 So we'll drink all together
 To the grey goose feather
 And the land where the grey goose flew.

What of the mark?
 Ah, seek it not in England:
 A bold mark, our old mark
 Is waiting oversea
 When the strings harp in chorus
 And the lion flag is o'er us
 It is there that our mark shall be.

What of the men?
 The men were bred in England:
 The bowmen—the yeomen—
 The lads of dale and fell.
 Here's to you—and to you!
 To the hearts that are true
 And the land where the true hearts dwell.'

The roadside adventures, especially that of the man who has taken sanctuary, and of the pursuing avenger of blood, are brilliant studies of life in Chaucer's time; and, though they are many, they are not too many. The little fighting Sir Nigel, the soul of chivalry, is a very tall man of his hands—almost too excellent a swordsman for his weight and his inches—while the very plain middle-aged wife whose favour he wears, proclaiming her *la plus belle du monde*, is a figure as original as her lord. He is an expert in heraldry, and, his sole object

being 'advancement' in the way of honour, he holds his own in single combat with du Guesclin, though the natural odds are those of Tom Sayers against Heenan. Like the hero of the old song who

'Met the devil and Dundee
On the braes of Killiecrankie,'

Sir Nigel 'fought by land and fought by sea'; and the adventure of the 'Yellow Cog' with the rover galleys is one of the best fights in a book full of fighting. Even after 'Ivanhoe' the tournament at Bordeaux and the adventure of the unknown knight seem fresh and stirring; and the unknown knight, du Guesclin, is quite equal to his reputation, when we reach the Jacquerie, which was a predestined incident. The siege of a house is always a lively affair, though the artist does not represent the bald and unhelmeted Sir Nigel as a very dangerous opponent; his attitude of self-defence rather resembles that of Mr Pickwick, which was 'paralytic'; indeed he is offering a tame and unheard-of kind of lunge, or rather poke, from the shoulder at an almost naked adversary, who 'takes it very unconcernedly.' When an archer shoots six hundred and thirty paces, we must presume that the author has warrant for such a prodigious deed with the long bow; to be sure the bowman makes use of his feet, 'turning himself into a crossbow.' Sir Arthur relies on 'one chronicler,' criticised by Mr C. J. Longman in the Badminton 'Book of Archery'; and that chronicler, Giraldus Cambrensis, does not stand the test of modern experiment.

As Sir Arthur adds historical notes, he might as well name his 'old chroniclers,' with their dates; otherwise their evidence is of no great value. The novel reader, who is terribly afraid of coming to know anything accurately, is not likely to look at the notes, and be frightened away by a name and a date. 'The White Company' is a lively romance, and very good reading for boys and friends of old times and tall knights. There is a love story; but, by separating hero and heroine early in the tale, the author ingeniously avoids a subject in which he does not pretend to shine. The mystic Lady Tiphaine, wife of du Guesclin, with her limited clairvoyance, is not a success; and the author has never

distinguished himself in dealing with the supernormal. In consulting with seeresses, 'physical contact' is very properly 'barred,' so as to avoid 'muscle-reading'; but Lady Tiphaine (who has a view of the future glories of the British Empire) 'would fain lay hands upon someone' when she practises her clairvoyant art. After her success with the vision of the Union Jack, or the English banner, at all events,

"It is over," said du Guesclin, moodily. . . . "Wine for the lady, squire. The blessed hour of sight hath passed!"

Here the author is more patriotic than imaginative, though du Guesclin was naturally vexed, being a good Frenchman, at hearing of our superior colonial expansion.

'The Refugees,' a tale of the court of Louis XIV, about the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, ends in the Iroquois country, whither the Huguenot characters have fled. The story, though full of life and action, deals with a theme which does not 'set the genius' of the author. He has not the finesse for a romance of the court of France; and his foil to all its artificialities, Amos Green, a young English colonial trapper, is of incredible simplicity. He certainly would not have been allowed to shoot at casual birds in the streets of such rising American townships as Boston and New York, and he could not have expected such sporting privileges in Paris. Yet he is amazed and annoyed when he is not permitted to go about gunning in the midst of the French capital. He is, of course, very shrewd, much too shrewd to be so innocently simple, and he is our old friend the useful Porthos of the novel, like John of Hordle in 'The White Company.' It is well to have a character who can open any door without a key, and fight more than the three enemies at once, whom Major Bellenden, in 'Old Mortality,' found too many for any champion except Corporal Raddlebanes. As to the Iroquois, we know their fiendish cruelties even too well from the 'Lettres Édifiantes' of the Jesuit missionaries, and we do not care to make closer acquaintance with them in a novel. The following passage shows the courtiers waiting for the king to get out of bed.

'Here, close by the king, was the harsh but energetic Louvois, all-powerful now since the death of his rival Colbert,

discussing a question of military organisation with two officers, the one a tall and stately soldier, the other a strange little figure, undersized and misshapen, but bearing the insignia of a marshal of France, and owning a name which was of evil omen over the Dutch frontier, for Luxembourg was looked upon already as the successor of Condé, even as his companion Vauban was of Turenne. . . . Beside them, a small, white-haired clerical with a kindly face, Père la Chaise, confessor to the king, was whispering his views upon Jansenism to the portly Bossuet, the eloquent Bishop of Meaux, and to the tall, thin, young Abbé de Fénelon, who listened with a clouded brow, for it was suspected that his own opinions were tainted with the heresy in question. There, too, was Le Brun, the painter, discussing art in a small circle which contained his fellow-workers Verrio and Laguerre, the architects Blondel and Le Nôtre, and sculptors Girardon, Puget, Desjardins, and Coysevoix, whose works had done so much to beautify the new palace of the king. Close to the door, Racine, with his handsome face wreathed in smiles, was chatting with the poet Boileau and the architect Mansard, the three laughing and jesting with the freedom which was natural to the favourite servants of the king, the only subjects who might walk unannounced and without ceremony into and out of his chamber.

"What is amiss with him this morning?" asked Boileau in a whisper, nodding his head in the direction of the royal group. "I fear that his sleep has not improved his temper."

"He becomes harder and harder to amuse," said Racine, shaking his head. "I am to be at Madame de Maintenon's room at three to see whether a page or two of the 'Phèdre' may not work a change."

This passage cannot but remind us of the scene with the wits at Button's in 'George de Barnwell,' and also of an imaginative reporter's account of people at a private view, or some such function. At the period indicated, we need not be told, as we are, that people were not talking about 'the last comedy of Molière' or of 'the insolence of Pascal.' Molière was dead; Pascal was dead; and Paris did not talk for ever about the 'Lettres Provinciales.' The rivalries of Madame de Montespan and Madame de Maintenon, the night ride of Amos—as adventurous, for a short distance, as that of the musketeers to Calais—remind us of Dumas, and do not bear the comparison. Montespan's attempt to have his

wife beheaded is much less convincing than the decapitation of Milady. Here it is.

'And thus it was that Amory de Catinat and Amos Green saw from their dungeon window the midnight carriage which discharged its prisoner before their eyes. Hence, too, came that ominous planking and that strange procession in the early morning. And thus it also happened that they found themselves looking down upon Françoise de Montespan as she was led to her death, and that they heard that last piteous cry for aid at the instant when the heavy hand of the ruffian with the axe fell upon her shoulder, and she was forced down upon her knees beside the block. She shrank screaming from the dreadful red-stained, greasy billet of wood; but the butcher heaved up his weapon, and the seigneur had taken a step forward with hand outstretched to seize the long auburn hair and to drag the dainty head down with it when suddenly he was struck motionless with astonishment, and stood with his foot advanced and his hand still out, his mouth half open, and his eyes fixed in front of him.'

We think of the terrific scene when Barbazure's head was struck from his cruel shoulders as he was directing the execution of his innocent and injured spouse, for,

'Quick as a flash de Catinat had caught up the axe, and faced de Montespan with the heavy weapon slung over his shoulder, and a challenge in his eyes.

"Now!" said he.

'The seigneur had for the instant been too astounded to speak. Now he understood at least that these strangers had come between him and his prey.'

However, Montespan stabs 'his bearded seneschal through the brown beard and deep into the throat'—strange doings in the golden prime of Louis XIV. The Iroquois adventures are more plausible, and very exciting; while for villain, we have a Franciscan, more fierce and tenacious than any Dominican, who pursues a French heretic into the heart of the Iroquois country, where he gets his end more easily than the brave Père Brébeuf.

A more interesting novel, despite the wild improbabilities of the plot, is 'Rodney Stone,' where the author is on English soil, among the bloods of the Regency and the heroic bruisers of an heroic age. The prize-fighters and country folk may be more truly drawn than the

dandies ; but every one who, like the Quaker lady known to George Borrow, adores 'the bruisers of England' will find this a book to his heart's desire. From the old champion, Harrison, to that Sir Nigel Loring of the fancy, young Belcher, and the strange old Buckhorse with his bell-like cry, all Sir Arthur's fighting men are painted in a rich and juicy manner, with a full brush ; and his hard-driving Corinthian blackguards are worthy of them, while the Prince Regent is more successful, as an historical portrait, than Louis XIV. There are plenty of 'spirited rallies' and 'rattling sets-to' in Sir Arthur's short stories ; but 'The Smith's Last Battle' is his masterpiece, and the chivalrous honesty of that excellent man would have made him justly dear to Borrow's Quakeress.

The best of the author's tales of times past, we have little doubt, are collected in the volume of 'The Exploits of Brigadier Gerard.' This gallant, honest, chivalrous, and gay soldier represents a winning class of Frenchmen of the sword, with a considerable element of sympathetic caricature. The vanity of the Brigadier and his extreme simplicity are a little exaggerated ; perhaps the author did not know at first how dear Gerard was to grow to himself and to his readers. In Napier's famous 'History of the Peninsular War' we meet many young French officers doing things as desperate as Gerard does, and doing them, like the great Montrose, with an air, with a flourish, with a joyous acceptance of a dramatic opportunity. The English officer who captures Gerard, and plays a game of *écarté* with him for his liberty, was just such another as himself ; but 'Milor the Hon. Sir Russell, Bart' could never have told his own story. Like Thackeray's General Webb, and like General Marbot, the Brigadier 'is not only brave, but he knows it,' and is not at all diffident in making his hearers aware of his prowess. His fight with the Bristol Bustler is not the least audacious of his combats, though, being ignorant of the rules of the fancy, the Brigadier kicked his man. 'You strike me on the head, I kick you on the knee' ; he thinks that this is perfectly legitimate. 'What a glutton he'd have made for the middle-weights,' exclaims the Bustler's admiring trainer, after observing, 'it's something to say all your life, that you've been handled by the finest light-weight in England.' The Bible, as Izaak Walton observes,

'always takes angling in the best sense'; and Sir Arthur takes boxing in the same liberal way. Keats would have sympathised with him deeply, for the poet was a man of his hands, and is said to have polished off a truculent butcher. But the Brigadier, of course, shines most with the sword, and mounted; and there is not a tale in the collection which we cannot read with pleasure more than once; indeed they are so equally good that it is hard to select a favourite. Perhaps 'How Gerard Won his Medal' and 'The Brothers of Ajaccio' come back most pleasantly to the memory, with the Brigadier's remarkable feat in saving the Emperor at Waterloo.

To prefer this book among Sir Arthur's is as much as to say that we deem him better at a *conte* than in the composition of a novel of the conventional length. This is natural, as adventure and description, rather than character and analysis and love stories, are his forte. He has omitted 'The Firm of Girdlestone' from this collection, though we prefer it to 'A Duet,' where the story is one of young married affection, and there are neither swords in the sun nor wigs on the green. Ladies may write love letters about merinos and alpacas, and 'a little white trimming at neck and wrists, and the prettiest pearl trimming. Then the hat *en suite*, pale grey *lisse*, white feather, and brilliant buckle.' These things may be written, but the wooer would be as much bored as Bothwell probably was by Queen Mary's sonnets, if she really defied 'the laws of God, and man, and metre' (especially metre) in the poems attributed to her by her enemies.

'Not here, oh Apollo,
Are haunts meet for thee.'

We cannot pretend to be interested in Frank and Maude, and 'the exact position of the wife of the assistant accountant of the Co-operative Insurance Company'—certainly no lofty position for a bride whose father, we learn, had a billiard-room of his own, and everything handsome about him, at 'The Laurels, St Albans.' Francis writes 'critical papers in the monthlies,' and here is an example of his discourse when, with his bride, he visits Westminster Abbey:—

'What an assembly it would be if at some supreme day each man might stand forth from the portals of his tomb.

Tennyson, the last and almost the greatest of that illustrious line, lay under the white slab upon the floor. Maude and Frank stood reverently beside it.

"Sunset and evening star
And one clear call for me,"

Frank quoted. "What lines for a very old man to write! I should put him second only to Shakespeare had I the marshalling of them."

"I have read so little," said Maude.

"We will read it all together after next week. But it makes your reading so much more real and intimate when you have stood at the grave of the man who wrote. That's Chaucer, the big tomb there. He is the father of British poetry. Here is Browning beside Tennyson—united in life and in death. He was the more profound thinker, but music and form are essential also." . . .

"Who is that standing figure?"

"It is Dryden. What a clever face, and what a modern type. Here is Walter Scott beside the door. How kindly and humorous his expression was! And see how high his head was from the ear to the crown. It was a great brain. There is Burns, the other famous Scot. Don't you think there is a resemblance between the faces? And here are Dickens, and Thackeray, and Macaulay. I wonder whether, when Macaulay was writing his essays, he had a premonition that he would be buried in Westminster Abbey. He is continually alluding to the Abbey and its graves. I always think that we have a vague intuition as to what will occur to us in life."

"We can guess what is probable."

To find a likeness in the faces of Burns and Scott is certainly original criticism. These young married people certainly 'do not overstimulate,' whether they moralise in Mr Carlyle's house or in the Abbey.

It may be a vulgar taste, but we decidedly prefer the adventures of Dr Watson with Mr Sherlock Holmes. Watson is indeed a creation; his loyalty to his great friend, his extreme simplicity of character, his tranquil endurance of taunt and insult, make him a rival of James Boswell, Esq., of Auchinleck. Dazzled by the brilliance of Sherlock, who doses himself with cocaine and is amateur champion of the middle-weights, or very nearly (what would the Bustler's trainer say to this?), the public over-

looks the monumental qualities of Dr Watson. He, too, had his love affair in 'The Sign of Four'; but Mrs Watson, probably, was felt to be rather in the way when heroic adventures were afoot. After Sherlock returned to life—for he certainly died, if the artist has correctly represented his struggle with Professor Moriarty—Mrs Watson faded from this mortal scene.

The idea of Sherlock is the idea of Zadig in Voltaire's *conte*, and of d'Artagnan exploring the duel in 'Le Vicomte de Bragelonne,' and of Poe's Dupin, and of Monsieur Lecoq; but Sir Arthur handles the theme with ingenuity always fresh and fertile; we may constantly count on him to mystify and amuse us. In we forget what state trial of the eighteenth century, probably the affair of Elizabeth Canning, a witness gave evidence that some one had come from the country. He was asked how he knew, and said that there was country mud on the man's clothes, not London mud, which is black. That witness possessed the secret of Sherlock; he observed, and remembered, and drew inferences, yet he was not a professional thief-taker.

The feats of Sherlock Holmes do not lend themselves as inspiring topics to criticism. If we are puzzled and amused we get as much as we want, and, unless our culture is very precious, we are puzzled and amused. The *roman policier* is not the roof and crown of the art of fiction, and we do not rate Sherlock Holmes among the masterpieces of the human intelligence; but many persons of note, like Bismarck and Moltke, are known to have been fond of Gaboriau's tales. In these, to be sure, there really is a good deal of character of a sort; and there are some entertaining scoundrels and pleasant irony in the detective novels of Xavier de Montépin and Fortuné du Boisgobey, sonorous names that might have been borne by crusaders! But the adventures of Sherlock are too brief to permit much study of character. The thing becomes a formula, and we can imagine little variation, unless Sherlock falls in love, or Watson detects him in blackmailing a bishop. This moral error might plausibly be set down to that over-indulgence in cocaine which never interferes with Sherlock's physical training or intellectual acuteness. Sir Arthur writes in one of his prefaces:—

'I can well imagine that some of my critics may express surprise that, in an edition of my works from which I have rigorously excluded all that my literary conscience rejects, I should retain stories which are cast in this primitive and conventional form. My own feeling upon the subject is that all forms of literature, however humble, are legitimate if the writer is satisfied that he has done them to the highest of his power. To take an analogy from a kindred art, the composer may range from the oratorio to the comic song and be ashamed of neither so long as his work in each is as honest as he can make it. It is insincere work, scamped work, work which is consciously imitative, which a man should voluntarily suppress before time saves him the trouble. As to work which is unconsciously imitative, it is not to be expected that a man's style and mode of treatment should spring fully formed from his own brain. The most that he can hope is that as he advances the outside influences should decrease and his own point of view become clearer and more distinctive.

'Edgar Allan Poe, who, in his carelessly prodigal fashion, threw out the seeds from which so many of our present forms of literature have sprung, was the father of the detective tale, and covered its limits so completely that I fail to see how his followers can find any fresh ground which they can confidently call their own. For the secret of the thinness and also of the intensity of the detective story is that the writer is left with only one quality, that of intellectual acuteness, with which to endow his hero. Everything else is outside the picture and weakens the effect. The problem and its solution must form the theme, and the character-drawing be limited and subordinate. On this narrow path the writer must walk, and he sees the footmarks of Poe always in front of him. He is happy if he ever finds the means of breaking away and striking out on some little side-track of his own.'

Not much more is left to be said by the most captious reviewer. A novelist writes to please; and if his work pleases, as it undeniably does, a great number and variety of his fellow-citizens, why should his literary conscience reject it? If Poe had written more stories about Dupin—his Sherlock Holmes—and not so many about corpses and people buried alive, he would be a more agreeable author. It is a fact that the great majority of Sherlock's admirers probably never heard of Poe; do not know that detective stories date from Dupin, and stories of ciphers and treasure from 'The Golden Bug,' or beetle, as the insect

is usually styled in English. Of Sir Arthur's debt to Poe there is no more to say than he has said. Perhaps he has not himself observed that his tale of 'The Man with the Twisted Lip' is a variant of the adventure of Mr Altamont in the 'Memoirs of James Fitzjames de la Pluche. The 'mistry' of that hero's 'buth,' by the way, seems to be revealed in his Christian names, which, like the motto of Clan Alpine, murmur, 'My race is royal.' Readers who remember the case of Mr Altamont are not puzzled by the disappearance of Mr Neville St Clair.

Possibly the homicidal ape in 'The Murders in the Rue Morgue' suggested the homicidal Andaman islander in 'The Sign of Four.' This purely fictitious little monster enables us to detect the great detective and expose the superficial character of his knowledge and methods. The Andamanese are cruelly libelled, and have neither the malignant qualities, nor the heads like mops, nor the weapons, nor the customs, with which they are credited by Sherlock. He has detected the wrong savage, and injured the character of an amiable people. The *bō: jig-ngijji* is really a religious, kindly creature, has a Deluge and a Creation myth, and shaves his head, not possessing scissors. Sherlock confessedly took his knowledge of the *bō: jig-ngijji* from 'a gazetteer,' which is full of nonsense. 'The average height is below four feet'! The average height is four feet ten inches and a half. The gazetteer says that 'massacres are invariably concluded by a cannibal feast.' Mr E. H. Man, who knows the people thoroughly, says 'no lengthened investigation was needed to disprove this long-credited fiction, for not a trace could be discovered of the existence of such a practice in their midst, even in far-off times.'

In short, if Mr Sherlock Holmes, instead of turning up a common work of reference, had merely glanced at the photographs of Andamanese, trim, elegant, closely-shaven men, and at a few pages in Mr Man's account of them in 'The Journal of the Anthropological Institute' for 1881, he would have sought elsewhere for his little savage villain with the blow-pipe. A Fuegian who had lived a good deal on the Amazon might have served his turn.

A man like Sherlock, who wrote a monograph on over a hundred varieties of tobacco-ash, ought not to have been gulled by a gazetteer. Sherlock's Andamanese

fights with a blow-pipe and poisoned arrows. Neither poisoned arrows nor blow-pipes are used by the islanders, according to Mr Man. These melancholy facts demonstrate that Mr Holmes was not the paragon of Dr Watson's fond imagination, but a very superficial fellow, who knew no more of the Mincopies (a mere nickname derived from their words for 'come here') than did Mr Herbert Spencer.

Sherlock is also as ignorant as Dickens was of a very simple matter, the ordinary British system of titles. He has a client, and he looks for that client in another 'book of reference,' not the light-hearted gazetteer which he consults with the pious confidence that Mrs Gallup bestows on the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' He discovers that the client's name is 'Lord Robert Walsingham de Vere St Simon, second son of the Duke of Balmoral'—not a plausible title at best. Yet, knowing this, and finding, in the 'Morning Post,' the client's real name, both Sherlock and the egregious Watson speak of Lord Robert St Simon throughout as 'Lord St Simon'! The unhappy 'nobleman,' with equal ignorance of his place in life, signs himself, 'Yours faithfully, St Simon.'

Of course we expect that so clumsy a pretender to be the second son of a duke will be instantly exposed by the astute Sherlock. Not so; Sherlock 'thinks it all very capital.' Now would Sherlock have called the late Lord Randolph Churchill 'Lord Churchill,' or would he have been surprised to hear that Lord Randolph did not sign himself 'Churchill'? Anthropology we do not expect from Sherlock, but he really ought to have known matters of everyday usage. The very 'page boy' announces 'Lord Robert St Simon'; but Sherlock salutes the visitor as Lord St Simon, and the pretended nobleman calls his wife 'Lady St Simon.' But do not let us be severe on the great detective for knowing no more of anthropology than of other things! Rather let us wish him 'good hunting,' and prepare to accompany Dr Watson and him, when next they load their revolvers, and go forth to the achieving of great adventures.

Art. IX.—THE TSAR.*

THE Emperor Nicholas II has already reigned for nearly ten years, and ruled for fully eight; yet the concrete man, his individual character, and the order of motives to which it is sensible, are nearly all as legendary as those of Numa Pompilius. Clouds of journalistic myths, mainly of German origin, enwrap his figure, hiding it from the vulgar gaze as thoroughly as though he were the Dalai Lama; and the fanciful portrait which we are asked to accept is as abstract and as colourless as that of our legendary Russian princes. Beyond the precincts of the palace his person is transfigured, his most trivial deeds are glorified, and his least disinterested motives are twisted and pulled into line with the fundamental principles of ethics. The result is a caricature closely bordering on the grotesque. Nikolai Alexandrovitch is depicted as a prince of peace, a Slav Messiah sent for the salvation, not of his own people only, but of all the world. The most precious porcelain of human clay was lavished in the making of this unique ruler, who stands upon a much higher level than that of the common run of mortals or of kings, in virtue, not only of the dread responsibilities laid upon him by the Most High, but also by reason of his own passionate love of humanity and his selfless devotion to the true and the good. In short, he is an 'Übermensch' whose innate goodness of heart exceeds even his irresponsible power.

But no newspaper hero is a prophet in his own country for long; and Nicholas II did not play the part in Russia for more than a twelvemonth. His father's reign had ended in utter moral exhaustion, in the blasting of hopes, the killing of enthusiasm, the blackness of despair. Better things were confidently expected of the son, because worse were rashly held to be impossible. But the credulous masses were again mistaken, and soon became conscious of their error. All Europe will know it soon.

Nicholas II began his reign in 1894 as a highly sensitive, retiring young man, who shrank instinctively from the fierce light that beats upon the throne. In spite of his camp experience he was still his mother's child,

* This article is from the pen of a Russian official of high rank

passivity his predominant trait, and diffidence one of its temporary symptoms. But that phase of his existence was short, and the change from the chrysalis to the butterfly very rapid.

Men still call vividly to mind the Emperor's first meeting with one of the historic institutions of the Empire. It was a raw November day in 1894. The members of the State Council, many of them veteran officials, who had served the Tsar's great-grandfather, were convened to do homage to the new monarch, and long before the time fixed were gathered together at the appointed place, their bodies covered with gorgeous costumes and their faces hidden with courtly masks expressive of awe and admiration. But he came and went like a whiff of wind in a sandy waste, leaving them rubbing their eyes. They had expected imperial majesty, but were confronted with childish constraint, a shambling gait, a furtive glance, and spasmodic movements. An undersized, pithless lad sidled into the apartment in which these hoary dignitaries were respectfully awaiting him. With downcast eyes, and in a shrill falsetto voice, he hastily spoke a single sentence: 'Gentlemen, in the name of my late father, I thank you for your services,' hesitated for a second, and then, turning on his heels, he was gone. They looked at each other, some in amazement, others in pain, many uttering a mental prayer for the weal of the nation; and after an awkward pause they dispersed to their homes.

The nation's next meeting with his Majesty took place a few days later, upon an occasion as solemn as the first; but in the interval he had been hypnotised by M. Pobedonostseff, the lay-bishop of autocracy, who has the secret of spiritually anointing and intellectually equipping the chosen of the Lord. The key-note of the Emperor's second appearance was dignity—inaccessible, almost superhuman dignity. All Russia had then gathered together in the persons of the representatives of the Zemstvos or local boards—we may call them embryonic county councils—to do homage to his Majesty on his accession to the throne. Loyal addresses without number, drawn up in the flowery language of oriental servility, had been presented from all those institutions. One of these documents—and only one—had seemed to M. Pobedonostseff

to smack of Liberalism. No less loyal in form or spirit than those of the other boards, the address drawn up by the council of Tver vaguely expressed the modest hope that his Majesty's confidence might not be wholly restricted to the bureaucracy, but would likewise be shared by the Russian people and by the Zemstvos, whose devotion to the throne was proverbial. This was a reasonable wish; it could not seriously be dubbed a crime; and, even if it bespoke a certain spirit of mild independence, it was after all the act of a single Zemstvo, whereas the men who had come to do homage to the Emperor were the spokesmen, not of one Zemstvo, but of all Russia. Yet the autocrat strode majestically into the brilliantly lighted hall, and with knitted brows and tightly drawn lips turned wrathfully upon the chosen men of the nation and, stamping his little foot, ordered them to put away such chimerical notions, which he would never entertain. Such was the Tsar's first imperious assertion of his divine vicereignty; and even staunch partisans of the autocracy blamed it as harsh and ill-advised.

Between those two public appearances of Nicholas II lay that short period of suggestion during which the impressionable youth had been made not so much to believe as to feel that he was God's lieutenant, the earthly counterpart of his divine Master. From that time forward his Majesty has been filled with a spirit of self-exaltation which has gone on gaining strength, in accordance with the psychological law that pride usurps as much space as servility is ready to yield. Nikolai Alexandrovitch soon began to look upon himself as the centre of the world, the peacemaker of mankind, the torch-bearer of civilisation among the 'yellow' and other 'barbarous' races, and the dispenser of almost every blessing to his own happy people. Taking seriously this his imaginary mission, he has meddled continuously and directly in every affair of State, domestic and foreign, thwarting the course of justice, undermining legality, impoverishing his subjects, boasting his fervent love of peace, and yet plunging his tax-burdened people into the horrors of a sanguinary and needless war.

Before setting forth a few of the many facts known personally to most of those who live in the shadow of the

throne—facts which justify the foregoing estimate of his Majesty's mental state and character—it should be clearly understood that we are supporters of monarchy and opposed to nihilism, to socialism, and to every kind of revolutionary agitation. We do not wish even for a paper constitution, which, conditions being what they now are, would but serve as a trap for liberal-minded men, gathering them together for imprisonment or exile. Our sole desire, as it is that of most broad-minded men in Russia is to see the spirit of administration made to harmonise with the needs of the time and of the people, and the institution known as the Council of Ministers—created by a ukase of Alexander II which has remained a dead letter—summoned and set to work; for, the people having outgrown the ancient form of government, the fact should be openly admitted, and the practical conclusions drawn.

The only government suited to Russia is a strong monarchy; but between this and a wild oriental despotism there is a difference. Nicholas II, although not guided by his official advisers, has never been a free and independent ruler. During the first part of his reign he was kept in leading-strings by his mother, who, as soon as he ascended the throne, impressed upon him the necessity of imitating in all things his 'never-to-be-forgotten father.' That phrase was engraven upon the tablets of his memory, and is ever at the tip of his tongue and the point of his pen. For long it was the 'open sesame' to his heart and mind, because he strives conscientiously to be a perfected copy of Alexander III, and believes that he has already attained the end. In reality the two men are as far asunder as the positive and negative poles. The father, sincere, gloomy and narrow-minded, at least instinctively felt his limitations, and steadily kept within them. He strove with indomitable perseverance and occasional success to secure within the narrow circle of his acquaintances the best men, and, having once chosen an adviser, always asked his counsel, and usually followed it. Again, breach of faith was an abomination to him, and his word was regarded as better than any bond, in spite of his mistaken attitude towards the Finns, and his broken promise in regard to Batoum. But in all these characteristics the son is the very opposite to his father. Unsteady, half-hearted, self-complacent, and fickle, he

changes his favourites with his fitful moods, allowing a band of casual, obscure, and dangerous men to usurp the functions of his responsible ministers, whose recommendations are ignored, whose warnings are disregarded, and whose measures for the defence of the State are not only baffled, but resented as symptoms of disobedience.

The sway wielded by his mother over Nicholas II soon came to an end, owing chiefly to differences between herself and her daughter-in-law on the subject of the Emperor's children. In the course of that rivalry the strenuous opposition of the young wife checked the influence of the mother over the son. One of the consequences of this domestic struggle for the mastery was that the Emperor freed himself partially, and for a time, from unofficial control; and his first spontaneous act, in the second year of his reign, was to appoint M. Goremykin, a man devoid of qualifications, to the post of Minister of the Interior (1896). This official remained in power for three years, and was then translated to the presidency of the Committee of Ministers—a sort of respectable refuge for ex-statesmen. His successor, M. Sipyaghin, chosen by the influence of the Dowager Empress, who pointed out that he had been favourably noticed by 'your never-to-be-forgotten father,' deserves a few words of mention. For, next to a man's acts examined in the light of his avowed motives, there can be no safer guide to his moral character and mental vigour than his choice of associates and fellow-workers; and some monarchs' claims to the gratitude of their subjects are founded, like those of old Kaiser Wilhelm, entirely upon the wise selections which they made, and the tenacity with which they clung to their ministers through thick and thin. Judged by this standard, Nicholas II will be ranked amongst the most unfortunate rulers of the Russian people.

His second choice, M. Sipyaghin, was nicknamed 'the Boyarin,' from his extreme love of ancient Russian customs and traditions, and the childish ways in which he manifested them. Intellectually Bœotian, but socially agreeable, he was a welcome guest in the houses of our nobility, where tea-table gossip is at a high premium. His political force lay in the thoroughness with which he threw himself into the part of courtier, and the skill with which he acted it. Ever blithe, his face wreathed

in smiles, his words sweetened with the honey of adulation, he infected his master and many of his own equals with the optimism of Candide. All was for the best in that best of states, Russia, thanks to the greatest and best of monarchs, Nicholas II. That was the faith of Sipyaghin, who loved his sovereign sincerely, and mistook that love for patriotic duty. In return the Emperor warmed to him, making him not his friend only, but his comrade, and singling him out for special marks of favour. For instance, although his Majesty, as a rule, never dines or sups at the house of a minister, he made an exception for M. Sipyaghin.

M. Sipyaghin's ascendancy over Nicholas II reached a point at which the jealousy of M. Pobedonostseff was aroused: it touched even religion. For the Minister of the Interior, encroaching in his light, off-hand manner upon the domain of the Chief Procurator of the Most Holy Synod, induced the Tsar to visit Moscow and spend Passion week there; and the trip was successful beyond expectation. On this pilgrimage M. Sipyaghin treated the Emperor as Potyemkin dealt with Catherine II; he enveloped him in an atmosphere of popular affection, surrounded him with signal proofs of his subjects' prosperity, intoxicated him with the wine of self-satisfaction. But while his Majesty was thanking heaven that his people were happier than foreigners, millions of his best subjects were being despoiled of their hard-earned money, and many were being imprisoned or banished, some for obeying the commands of God, others for infringing the unjust laws of the Government. M. Sipyaghin, who was not a cruel man at heart, was hated as the champion and inspirer of this misrule. Friends warned him to be on his guard; but, replying that he would continue to do his duty, he went light-heartedly on his way.

On Monday, April 14, 1901, he invited his Majesty to dinner for the following Thursday; and the Emperor graciously consented. In the domestic circle and the State department preparations were at once made for the repast. Officials of the ministry were dispatched in search of a special kind of big strawberries, larger than those which were to be found at Yeliseyeff's in the Nevsky Prospekt. Fiery gipsies were engaged to sing before royalty; telegrams were dispatched to Paris for

prize chickens; piping hot pancakes were ordered *à la Russe* to be eaten with cold caviare; despatches were sent to the caterer Prospere, of Kharkoff, for dainties for the imperial palate; and many officials of the ministry scoured the capital for piquant delicacies. But on the Thursday fixed for the imperial repast, Sipyaghin's body was carried to its last resting-place. The minister had been assassinated by a youth named Balmashoff, not twenty-one years old, as a warning and a protest.

His Majesty now had another opportunity for showing his judgment and gratifying his predilections. Amenable chiefly to tangible and visible influences, his choice fell upon M. de Plehve, who speedily developed into the formidable Dictator of All the Russias. This official is tolerably instructed, possesses an intricate acquaintance with the seamy side of human nature, knows how to touch deftly the right cords of sentiment, prejudice, or passion, and can keep his head in the most alarming crisis. When state dignitaries and officials lost their nerve on the tragic death of Alexander II, M. de Plehve, then public prosecutor, was cool, self-possessed, resourceful. These qualifications were duly noted, and his promotion was rapid; he became successively Director of the Police Department, and Secretary of the Council of the Empire, where he helped to ruin the Finnish nation before the destinies of 150,000,000 Russians were finally placed in his hands.

M. de Plehve cannot be classified by nationality, genealogy, church, or party. Of obscure parentage, of German blood with a Jewish strain, of uncertain religious denomination,* his ethical worth was gauged aright years ago by his colleagues in the Ministry of Justice, and recently again in the Council of Ministers. Aware of their hostile judgment, his first acts were calculated to modify it. He set out for the sacred shrine near Moscow, the Troitsko-Serghieffsky Monastery, where he devoutly received Holy Communion at the hands of an orthodox priest. While he was thus displaying his piety in view of his subordinates, the peasants in Kharkoff and Poltava were being

* M. de Plehve's father died recently; and the powerful minister called personally on the Lutheran pastor asking him to perform the funeral service speedily and unostentatiously. He was loth to let it be known that he, a pillar of orthodoxy, was the son of a Protestant.

cruelly flogged by his orders for showing signs of disaffection. Visiting those provinces in person, M. de Plehve promptly rewarded the governor of Kharkoff for flogging the malcontents at once, and punished the governor of Poltava for flogging them only as an afterthought.

That revolt of the peasants, which was repeated in Saratoff and elsewhere, marks an era in Russian history, for it resulted in M. de Witte's commission of inquiry into the condition of the agricultural classes in Russia, and in that minister's fall. The marshals of the nobility were empowered to summon members of the Zemstvo, landed proprietors, and anybody else who could enlighten them in their investigations. Peasants too were asked to give their views; and all were encouraged to speak out freely. And this was the question asked: If the peasantry are materially impoverished and physically degenerating, if their live-stock is dwindling to nothing, and if the food they eat is less in quantity and worse in quality than ever before, is Nature to blame or man? And if man, what man? The results of the enquiry were convincing; for, without previous consultation, those spokesmen of various social classes throughout Russia, whose interests conflict in many ways, were practically at one in their opinion. Partial to euphemisms, they condemned the system of administration. Dotting their i's and crossing their t's, M. de Plehve called that system by the name of autocracy; and no Russian can honestly say that he was wrong.

The reform inaugurated by Alexander II, when he struck off the fetters of serfdom, ought, so these commissioners held, to be further developed. The peasants should be freed from the shackles of special penal legislation. They should be taught to read, to keep themselves clean in body and in soul, to cope with the horrible diseases which in their ignorance they now communicate to each other, to shake off the net-work of superstition which is eating away their spiritual nature as the poison of infection is undermining their physique, and to fit themselves for trade and industry. That was the opinion of all Russia's representatives—noblemen, landed proprietors, doctors, lawyers, tradesmen and peasants. Yet the men who uttered it were punished for their audacity. M. de Witte had exhorted them to speak their minds;

the Tsar punished them for obeying his minister; and M. de Plehve encouraged the Tsar.

That Land Commission was the turning-point in the career of M. de Witte, whose services the Emperor had inherited from his 'never-to-be-forgotten father.' The ease with which the minister fell into disfavour, and the irrelevant grounds on which he was dismissed, are characteristic of the Tsar's arbitrary ways of thinking and acting. M. de Witte is a statesman of high powers—and great limitations—a financier whose earlier policy did, I believe, much harm, as his mature acts did much good, to the nation. As minister, he came eventually to understand the needs of his time and country, and sought with alternating success and failure to satisfy them; his work was a mixture of promise, achievement and failure. If the one-eyed man is necessarily the leader in the kingdom of the blind, M. de Witte deserved to be the head of the Government in contemporary Russia. But the members of the camarilla refused to have him, and, with the monarch's support, they proved more powerful than he. For they already had brought things to such a pass that none can now serve Russia as ministers but such as are skilful in flattering the Tsar; and M. de Witte was not one of these. He not only spoke freely to Nicholas II, but refused to change his opinion in accordance with the Emperor's desires. He also declined to dupe the foreign Powers. 'Your Majesty pledged your word to evacuate Manchuria, and the world believed you. Russia will now lose all credit, and perhaps not even gain Manchuria, if it please your Majesty to break that pledge. War also will follow, and we sorely need peace. Besides, Manchuria is useless to us. Therefore I cannot be a party to this policy.' Thus plainly spoke the Finance Minister, heedless of courtly phraseology. 'Witte is a haughty dictator, who gives himself the air of an Emperor.' So spoke the courtiers among themselves and to his Majesty through the Grand Dukes. And the autocrat, wrathful that a subject should oppose his wishes and refuse to co-operate with him in professing to work for peace while provoking war, dismissed him. To the Russian nation that loss meant great bloodshed, vast expense, wide-spread misery: what else it involves we cannot yet say.

M. de Plehve is now the most influential personage in the Russian Empire—a Muscovite Grand Vizier, who wields absolute power over what we may be pardoned for calling the greatest nation on the globe; and he holds his position at the pleasure of his imperial master. Whether he remains in office or is dismissed to-morrow depends, not on the good or the evil that may result from his arbitrary administration, but on the success which attends his endeavours to keep the Tsar in countenance and to persuade the wayward monarch that autocracy is safe in his hands. The massacres of Jews, the banishment of Finns, the spoliation of Armenians, the persecution of Poles, the exile of Russian nobles, the flogging of peasants, the imprisonment and butchery of Russian working men, the establishment of a wide-spread system of espionage, and the abolition of law, are all measures which the minister suggests and the Tsar heartily sanctions. M. de Plehve, like his colleagues, would not be minister if his régime were really helpful to the country. That is the unpalatable truth which must be told about the government of Nicholas II.

Another of the Tsar's well-beloved advisers is M. Muravieff, the Minister of Justice, who has cheerfully and steadily subordinated all justice to the personal vagaries of his sovereign. He is one of those plastic public men, of the type of Bertrand Barère, whom one finds in all countries in a state of social and political chaos. To-day there is no limit to his subserviency to the Emperor; to-morrow no man would be surprised to see him vote with Russian Jacobins for the suppression of the autocracy. Through him the law courts receive timely hints about the wishes of the Crown in those cases which interest the rulers of Russia.

It is a mistake, therefore, to imagine that the Emperor is a tool in the hands of his ministers; it is they who are his instruments, merely suggesting measures palatable to the monarch and formulating his will. They make him feel that what he thinks is correct, what he says is true, what he does is right. This Hobbesian view of his position has been carefully engrafted upon his mind by the two theorists of autocracy, M. Pobedonostseff and Prince Meshtshersky. The Procurator of the Holy Synod, a cold-blooded fanatic of the Torquemada type,

is the champion of oriental despotism in its final stage, equipped with railways, telegraphs, telephones, and rifles, and hallowed with canonisations, incense, and holy oil; the feats of Ivan the Terrible achieved with the blessings of St Seraphim. Of Prince Meshtshersky, the editor of the 'Grashdanin' and the private counsellor of the Tsar, it would be difficult to convey an adequate picture without introducing scenes which would offend the taste of the non-Russian public. His political ideas are those of the Dahomey of fifty years ago or the Bokhara of to-day, modified in two important points. According to him, every governor of a province, every peasant-prefect, should share the irresponsible power of the autocrat, and when dealing with the peasantry need observe no law.

'Questions of the Zemstvo have no more to do with law courts,' he writes, 'than questions of family life. If a father may chastise his son severely without invoking the help of the courts, the authorities—local, provincial, and central—should be invested with a similar power to imprison, flog, and otherwise overawe or punish the people.'*

The Tsar, then, is what inherited tendencies and the doctrines of Pobedonostseff and Meshtshersky have made him. Between humanity and divinity he is a *tertium quid*. Such is the doctrine of the two theorists of autocracy; such the conviction of their pupil. He is the one essence in the Empire; they are his organs. Hence they strive to please him, to carry out his behests, to anticipate his wishes, to suggest plans in harmony with his fixed ideas or passing moods. Necessarily also they colour and distort facts, events, and consequences; for, while he can appreciate effects, his faculty of discerning their relations to causes is almost atrophied. He is ever struggling with phantoms, fighting with wind-mills, conversing with saints, or consulting the spirits of the dead. But of the means at hand for helping his people or letting them help themselves he never avails himself. Books he has long ago ceased to read, and sound advice he is incapable of listening to. His ministers he receives with great formality and dismisses with haughty condescension. They are often kept in the dark

* This doctrine, frequently laid down in the 'Grashdanin,' was clearly expressed in that paper on March 1, 1904.

about matters which it behoves them to know thoroughly and early. Thus, shortly after the present war had begun, a number of dignitaries and officials gathered round General Kuropatkin one day and asked him how things were going on. With a malicious twinkle in his eye the War Minister replied: 'Like yourselves, I know only what is published. The war is Alexeyeff's business, not mine.' When three ministers implored the Tsar to evacuate Manchuria and safeguard the peace of the world, he answered: 'I shall keep the peace and my own counsel as well.' To one of the Grand Dukes, who, on the day before the rupture with Japan, vaguely hinted at the possibility of war, the Emperor said: 'Leave that to me. Japan will never fight. My reign will be an era of peace to the end.' With such little wisdom are the affairs of great nations directed.

The pity of it is that there is no intermediary between the isolated sovereign and the disaffected nation, no one who has free access to the monarch for the purpose of telling him the truth. Our history records the deeds of emperors whose authority was as absolute as is his; but they were not inaccessible to public opinion, indifferent to public needs, or deprived of the counsel of strong men. Alexander I was wont to spend whole nights in talking freely and frankly to individuals who told him what they knew and thought. Nicholas I profited by the services of Benckendorff, to whom Russians could speak plainly, and who had the courage to tell his master what was needed. Alexander II was served by Count Adlerberg, who played a similar part with tolerable success. General Richter was the mentor of Alexander III, and his influence was powerful and beneficent. But Nicholas II stands alone on his dizzy pedestal, a Simon Stylites among monarchs. His adjutant, Hesse, who is privileged to see him at all times, is an officer who can scarcely write his name. The Tsar has created a gulf between the autocracy and the people, between himself and his fellow mortals, which is nearly as deep and as broad as that which separates the deity from mankind.

Many educated Russians are wont to compare their present Emperor with Feodor Ivanovitch, the weak-willed, feeble-minded son of Ivan IV. But there were points even in that monarch's favour which we miss in

the life of Nicholas II. He was at least conscious of his weaknesses. 'I am the Tsar of executioners!' his artistic biographer makes him exclaim, on an historic occasion. And, after all, his own weakness was more than outweighed by the strength of will of his prompter, the great statesman Boris Godunoff. The sad conviction is now rapidly gaining ground that Nicholas II is getting to resemble in certain ways the unfortunate Paul I. He is eminently unfit to control personally the destinies of a great people; and he is, unfortunately, ignorant of his unfitness. That is the danger which hangs over Russia at home, and over Russia's peaceful neighbours abroad. Deep-rooted faith in his own ability prompts him to shun men whose statesmanship might shield his people from the consequences of his faults, and to choose officials who will serve merely as tools in his unsteady hands. Consequently his choice of favourites and of ministers is deplorable. Thus the idea that he should have offered the post of Minister of Public Instruction to a man so entirely and deservedly discredited as Prince Meshtshersky embitters those of his subjects who are aware of the facts as much as would the appointment in England of such a man as Jabez Balfour to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury.

A great deal has been written about the Tsar's love of peace, his clemency, his benevolence, and his fairness; but the Russian authors of these eulogies belong to the category of flatterers, who, when his Majesty sleeps, are busy quoting profound passages from his snoring. His reputation as a staunch friend of peace is but the reflex of the views laboriously impressed upon him by M. de Witte, whose whole policy, good and evil, was based upon peace. But, owing to the defective condition of that faculty by which the mind traces effects to causes and calculates results, all he does contributes to bring about the very ends which he abhors.

In the conduct of state affairs the Tsar is reserved and formal. Like his father, when presiding over a committee or council he listens in silence to the opinions of others, almost always withholding his own. He sometimes departs from this rule when he wishes to give a certain direction to the discussion. It was thus when M. de Plehve brought

in the bill to enlarge the arbitrary powers of provincial governors, proposing that these officials should be the representatives not only of the government but also of the autocrat, and should therefore share his powers. The Emperor then opened the sitting with a few words to the effect that he concurred in that view. In his study he is generally busy signing replies to addresses of loyalty, or writing comments on the various reports presented by ministers, governors, and other officials. He is encouraged by his courtiers to believe that all these replies and comments are priceless; for even such trivial remarks as, 'I am very glad,' 'God grant it may be so,' are published in large type in the newspaper, glazed over in the manuscript, and carefully preserved in the archives like the relics of a saint. But the most interesting are never published; and of these there is a choice collection. Here is one. A report of the negotiations respecting the warship 'Manchur' was recently laid before him by Count Lamsdorff. The tenor of it was that the Chinese authorities had summoned the 'Manchur' to quit the neutral harbour of Shanghai at the repeated and urgent request of the Japanese consul there. On the margin of that report his Majesty penned the memorable words: 'The Japanese consul is a scoundrel.'

The Emperor imagines it to be the right and the duty of the Autocrat of All the Russias to intervene personally in every affair that interests himself or has any bearing on his mission. The instances of this uncalled-for personal action are nearly as numerous as his official acts; and the consequences of several are written in blood and fire in the history of his reign. They have undermined the sense of legality; and the end of legality is always the beginning of the reign of violence. The saddest part of the story is that, the more unsteady he becomes, the more vigorously he sweeps away the last weak barriers which stand between the autocracy and folly or injustice, such as the Council of the Empire, the Committee of Ministers, and the Senate. A few examples will enable the reader to judge for himself. The late Minister of Public Instruction, Sanger, who was not an enemy to instruction like so many of his predecessors, brought in a bill changing a preparatory grammar school in Lutzk, supported by voluntary subscriptions, into a complete one. It was a

useful measure; and the Council of the Empire, having taken cognisance of it, passed it unanimously. On the report, as presented to the Tsar, his Majesty wrote: 'No. I disagree entirely with the Council of the Empire. I hold that we must encourage technical and not classical education.' The bill was killed, and Snger resigned; but neither technical nor classical education is encouraged.

The Senate, being a judicial and also an administrative institution, can pass resolutions which, if approved by the majority and not opposed by the Minister of Justice, have the force of law. But neither the Council of the Empire nor the Committee of Ministers can enact a law, because their decisions have to be referred to the Tsar, who may agree with the proposal of the majority or the protest of the minority, or ignore both and act on his own initiative. Alexander III usually took the side of the minority; and his son and successor has followed his example religiously. He has also established a practice of first approving the bill in principle and then allowing the minister to send it before the Council or the Committee, so that all the members know beforehand the opinion of the monarch. But if the majority is bold or honest enough to throw it out, the Tsar always adopts the view of the minority.

Here is an amusing case which characterises our government and our rulers. A bill was introduced to indemnify landed proprietors in the Baltic provinces for the losses they had incurred through the government monopoly of alcohol. M. de Witte held that the sum of several millions should be paid over to them in the course of a number of years; the majority maintained that it ought to be paid at once. M. de Witte first informed the Tsar of this divergence; and his Majesty promised to confirm the view of the minority. The minister then wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Council, M. de Plehve, telling him that the Emperor had promised to confirm the decision of the minority so soon as the documents were placed before him. M. de Plehve freely communicated this announcement to all the members. Then many officials, seeing that opposition would be fruitless, changed their views, or their votes, so that the minority unexpectedly became the majority. In the course of time the documents were laid before the Tsar, who remembered only that he had pledged himself to M. de Witte to

reject the proposal of the majority. Accordingly, without reading the papers or taking further thought, he redeemed his promise; and the wrong bill became law.

The course of justice, civil and criminal, is liable to be impeded in the same way. Here is an example. A certain person incurred large debts in St Petersburg, and was declared bankrupt. In the ordinary course of law his estates were to be sold and the creditors satisfied. The Tula Bank was charged with the sale of the estates; but the Tsar, having meanwhile been asked to interfere, issued an order stopping the sale and suspending the operation of the law. An action was brought against Princess Imeretinsky by her late husband's heirs. The Princess, who had powerful friends, privately petitioned his Majesty to intervene on her behalf, and her prayer was granted. The Tsar ordered the plaintiffs to be nonsuited and the action quashed; and his will was duly executed. In a third case, some noblemen sold their estates to merchants; the transactions were properly carried out and legally ratified. But the Tsar, by his own power, cancelled the deed of sale and ordered the money and the estates to be returned to their previous owners. Such instances of interference with the course of justice might easily be multiplied.

Of the course of justice in political trials little need be said. The prosecution of the murderers of the Kishineff Jews is fresh in the memory of all. An incident unparalleled in our history before the present reign rendered that trial celebrated for all time; the counsel for the prosecution in the civil case threw up their briefs and left the court because of the systematic denial of justice to their clients. When the flogging cases were heard in the Government of Poltava last year a similar course was taken by the lawyers. The rights which our laws bestow upon prisoners were so persistently denied them that the advocates of the accused peasants had no choice but to throw up their briefs and leave the court. In every political trial the Minister of Justice closes the doors; and he is prepared to do the same in any civil lawsuits if either of the parties has influence at Court. Peasant malcontents are flogged without trial or accusation; working men are shot down when parading the streets. In all this M. Muravieff, the human embodiment of

Russian law, the Minister of Justice, is the executioner of justice and the executor of unrighteousness.

Yet, undoubtedly, the power of the autocracy could be employed to further the cause of humanity, enlightenment, and justice, if such were the will of him who wields it. A single word from the Tsar would cause a profound change to come over the condition of the country and the sentiments of his people. The responsibility for his acts cannot be laid upon the shoulders of his ministers, whose advice he refrains from seeking in the most dangerous crises of his reign. It was not his ministers who prompted him to break the promise he had given to evacuate Manchuria; they entreated him to keep it. It was not they who proposed that he should curtail the power for good still left to such institutions as the Council of the Empire, the Committee of Ministers, and the governing Senate. It was not they who impelled him to make the monarchy ridiculous by seeking wisdom in the evocation of spirits and strength in the canonisation of saints. It was not they who urged him to break up the Finnish nation by a series of iniquitous measures worthy of an oriental despot of ancient Babylon or Persia; on the contrary, they assured him in clear and not always courtly phraseology that justice and statesmanship required him to stay his hand. It was not his official advisers who suggested that he should despoil the Armenian Church of its property and endowments, while leaving all other religious communities in the possession of theirs, and should punish with bullets and cold steel the zealous members of that Church who protested in the name of their religion and conscience. Almost all his ministers united for once in warning him that this was an act of wanton spoliation, and in conjuring him to abandon or modify his scheme. But, deaf to their arguments, he insisted on having his own way.

The Tsar's reign has therefore brought everything into a state of flux; nothing is stable with us as in other countries. No traditions, no rights, no laws are respected; there are only ever-increasing burdens, severer punishments, and never dwindling misery and suffering. The Tsar's meddling unsettles the whole nation and disquiets even the obscure individual, because nobody is sure that his turn will not come to-morrow. Thus, on the one

hand, a whole county council in Tver, with its members, its officials, its schools, doctors, teachers, and statisticians, was lately annihilated by a stroke of the imperial pen; while, on the other hand, a general here, a journalist there, lawyers, physicians, officials, have been seized in various parts of the country and imprisoned or banished. Under Paul I only those who were in the neighbourhood of the Emperor had reason to apprehend his outbursts of eccentricity; but Nicholas II has sent genuine pashas like Prince Galitzin and General Bobrikoff* to govern the provinces; and these men are as arbitrary as himself.

What strange and unpleasant mishaps may befall private persons can be inferred from a few examples. A short time ago a journalist of the capital, who writes with considerable verve, was packed off to Siberia—not in a day or an hour, but in a twinkling. His crime? The Tsar's imagination worked upon by an over-zealous priest. One day early in 1902 M. Amphitheatroff published a moderately interesting article describing the home circle of a landed proprietor, whom he depicted as very firm and strict with his family, and so scrupulous in his dealings with the other sex that he boiled with indignation if his wife's chamber-maid flirted with any male relative or stranger. He had a sympathetic son, with eyes like a gazelle's—a well-meaning youth who wished everybody to be happy, but possessed no ideas on practical matters. The kind-hearted mother sat between father and son, tenderly loving both. It was an idyllic picture of Russian life at its best—and nothing more. The censor read it and saw nothing wrong. The minister, Sipyaghin, glanced at it and passed on cheerfully to his hot pancakes and cold caviare. The Tsar himself perused it and liked it, it was 'such a pleasing picture of the serene life of a Russian squire.' But the Emperor's chaplain, Yanisheff, descried high treason between the lines. According to him, the landed proprietor, who struck the table with his fist whenever he heard of a little flirtation on the part of his wife's maid, was no other than the Emperor Alexander III; the son with the sympathetic eyes and vacillating character was Nicholas II.

* Since this article was written, General Bobrikoff, Governor of Finland, was assassinated at Helsingfors, June 16.

As the portrait, if intended as such, was not flattering, it needed audacity on the part of the priest to say, 'Sire, the ingenuous youth of limited ideas is obviously your Majesty'; and the Tsar must be credited with a large dose of naïveté to have been persuaded that the cap fitted the imperial head. He at once summoned and questioned Sipyaghin. 'Yes, I read the feuilleton, your Majesty, but noticed nothing offensive in it.' 'Well,' replied the Emperor, 'you may take it from me that it is a treasonable skit on my never-to-be-forgotten father and myself. Send the scoundrel to Siberia.' And to Siberia he was whisked away, without a chance to buy warm clothing for the journey or to get money for his needs. It was not much consolation to M. Amphitheatroff that he was subsequently pardoned for a crime of which he was innocent, and then banished to Vologda, where he is now undergoing his punishment.

Under Nicholas I, when serfdom still prevailed in Russia, such arbitrary acts were not unknown. But even that autocrat treated the persons whom he exiled with a certain paternal kindness foreign to his namesake. Thus, in 1826, the poet Poleshayeff, who had written some verses to which the police took exception, was dispatched to the army as a common soldier. But the stern autocrat gave him an audience on the eve of his departure, spoke kindly to him, kissed him on the forehead, and said, 'Go and mend your ways.' And in those days of absolutism no Russian general was ever packed off to the Far East, by way of punishment for taking broad-minded views of the people's needs, as General Kuzmin-Karavayeff, professor at the Military Judicial Academy of St Petersburg, was a few weeks ago, by the express orders of the Tsar. MM. Falberg and Pereverzoff, two gentlemen who, at the Congress of Technical Education held in St Petersburg last January, hissed the instigators of the Kishineff massacres, were also seized by the police, and, without trial or question, without even time to put on warm clothing, were hurried off to Yakutsk, the very coldest part of the inhabited globe. 'Severity, served up cold, is the only way with empire-wreckers,' as M. de Plehve remarked. In like manner M. Annensky, an old man who lived at peace with all the world, was suddenly expelled by the police from his home and city because a

spy accused him in error of having pronounced a speech a few days before at the funeral of Mikhailovsky, the editor of a review. Everybody knew and knows that Annensky did not utter a word on that occasion. But a spy made a blunder; Annensky suffered for it; and there was no redress.

In all these measures, in their most trivial details, the Tsar takes an eager and personal interest, because he treats them as part of the defence of autocracy. He knows, therefore, what is being done in his name; he expressly, and in writing, approves coercion and the many novel forms of it brought into vogue by the *âme damnée* of autocracy, M. de Plehve. Thus he conferred a star upon Prince Obolensky for his energy in flogging the peasants of the Government of Kharkoff until some of them died; he even raised this zealous official to the unique rank of Lieutenant-general of the Admiralty—a post of which the Russian public had never heard before. He appointed M. Kleighels, one of the most corrupt of police officials, to be his general adjutant. At this the nation, and even the Court, murmured audibly, for no police officer had ever received this rank. But the Tsar set their dissatisfaction at naught, and made Kleighels Governor-general of Kieff. A minister timidly hinted to his Majesty that all Russia hated Kleighels, and that so unpopular an official would hardly succeed in administering so difficult a province as Kieff. But Nikolai Alexandrovitch answered, 'I care nothing for what they say. I know what I am doing.'

So far, one of the most salient results of his Majesty's return towards the epoch of serfdom has been the estrangement of almost every class from the dynasty and its chief. For a nation like Russia, which cannot yet dispense with the monarchical form of government, this is a calamity. The nobles are generally on the side of the people, which, unfortunately, is not that of their ruler. An example of this attitude was given by an ex-minister, Prince Vyazemsky, who publicly condemned the conduct of the police in flogging the students in the Nevsky Prospekt. The nobles of Tver have not only spoken but suffered for the popular cause, which the Tsar spurns as impious and punishes as treasonable. In order to extinguish this resistance, the Emperor has lately

signified his wish to confer such powers upon every governor of a province as will enable him to deport any person, without trial or accusation, not only for a political offence, but for disagreeing with the views of his Excellency the Governor on any local question. Arbitrary regulations have lately been issued by the Chief of the Police in St Petersburg, by the Governor-general of Moscow, and by the governors of other provinces, which supersede the laws of the Empire; and any infringement of them is visited with fines of R. 3000—and larger sums in Poland—and three months' imprisonment besides. Governors upon whom special powers have been conferred can now oblige a landed proprietor to do anything which they hold to be requisite for what they call public order. If such a governor wishes to fine and imprison the owner of an estate whom he dislikes he has but to send a policeman to seek and find a rubbish heap or a pool of water in the courtyard, and the end is attained.

The English reader, for whose admiration many fancy portraits of the Autocrat of All the Russias have been drawn, may ask how these things can be reconciled with the manifesto promulgated by his Majesty on March 11, 1903, which promised certain reforms to his people. The answer is that the manifesto was a mere display of fireworks. That document, which made a stir in Russia and abroad, was drawn up by M. de Plehve and altered again and again by the Tsar himself, until he had elaborated a statement of which the form was solemn and the contents trivial. Setting aside its mere frothy phraseology, the only tangible reforms it foreshadowed were the abolition of the joint responsibility of the peasants for taxation and the maintenance of religious tolerance. As foreigners understand religious tolerance better than the incidence of taxation, let us briefly compare the imperial promise touching religion with the imperial achievement.

Since he issued the manifesto, Nicholas II has done nothing for religious tolerance and very much against it. The Jews have been persecuted even more cruelly and more extensively than before his welcome words were uttered. The Emperor's uncle, the Grand Duke Sergius, who is Governor-general of Moscow, has made it a sort of sport to hunt out the Jews and drive them from the city.

Anti-semites who go further are safe from punishment, and would find many imitators if the pastime were less obnoxious to the people of the United States. Jewish surgeons and doctors have been gathered in large numbers and sent to meet danger or death in the Far East. Roman Catholics are ceaselessly worried in their work, insulted in their religious sentiments, and almost forcibly driven into Orthodoxy by spiteful orders unworthy of a Christian government. To belong to the Armenian Church is to be branded with the mark of Cain; and it is sometimes worse to be a Russian non-conformist than to worship idols or to poison one's neighbour.

A golden opportunity arose for the fulfilment of the Tsar's promise shortly after it had been made. The new Russian penal code was then being drawn up; and the section dealing with crimes against faith was under discussion. Here the Emperor's mild and tolerant spirit was expected to bring about great and desirable changes. But the hope was disappointed. One change was made for the better, but only one. An Orthodox believer who wishes to leave his denomination may henceforward go abroad and there change his religion without fear of punishment, whereas formerly he was liable to pains and penalties. That is all. But, even now, if such a man, being unable to go abroad, should ask a Russian Lutheran or Roman Catholic priest to receive him into his Church, the minister in question must refuse. To comply with the request would entail severe punishment.

There can be no mistake about the Emperor's personal action in hindering his subjects from serving God in their own way, for it was vigorous, personal, and direct. Whenever the existing institutions or the responsible ministers were inclined to loosen the grip of the law on the conscience of the individual, the Tsar's veto formed an insuperable impediment. Examples are numerous. The following is instructive. The laws dealing with religious misdemeanours being under discussion, a minority of the Council of the Empire steadily advocated toleration; but at every turn his Majesty sided with the majority. Once, and only once, the bulk of the members favoured a clause which was reasonable and humane; and then the Emperor quashed their decision

without hesitation. The question was: If a Russian who is Orthodox only in name, and something else—say Lutheran—in reality, asks a clergyman of his adopted Church to administer the sacrament to him on his death-bed, should the minister be punishable if he complied? The Council of the Empire, by a considerable majority, answered 'no'; and their arguments were clear and forcible. So plain was the case that even the Grand Dukes took the side of the majority. But the Tsar, putting down his foot, said, 'A clergyman who shall administer the sacraments of his Church to such a man shall be treated as a law-breaker; it is a crime'; and his decision has received the force of law. As this declaration of the imperial will was made after the manifesto, to speak of the Emperor's tolerant views would be satirical.

Another instance took place, also after the promulgation of that 'Magna Carta' of Russian liberty. Baron Uexkull von Gildenband proposed that certain sections of the population, who had been forced several years ago to join the Orthodox Church, all of them against their will and some even without their knowledge, should now be permitted to return to their respective Churches if they chose. Some of these people had been Lutherans of the Baltic provinces; others had been Uniates of western Russia, i.e. Catholics who, with the liturgy of the Greek Church, hold the beliefs of the Latin, and are in communion with Rome. It was an act, not of magnanimity, but of common justice that was here suggested. But, when the general debate was about to begin, the Grand Duke Michael, acting in harmony with his Majesty's known dispositions, withdrew from the Baron his right to speak in favour of the proposal, which therefore dropped. By these and other like fruits the tree may be known.

What is most astonishing is that the head of Orthodoxy should cause the members of an important branch of his own Church to be harried as if they were public enemies. Here are a few specimens of the methods employed against the Old Believers in the present reign. One of their monasteries—the Nikolsky *Skeet* in the Kuban Government—was seized by an archimandrite named Kolokoloff, who, at the head of fifty Cossacks, drove out the monks and took possession of their dwelling. One of their bishops, Siluan,

protested and was thrown into prison. Yet the archimandrite who had won this easy victory, not satisfied with his violence against the living, also wreaked his spite on the dead. Two Old Believers who had departed this life in the odour of sanctity, Bishop Job and Gregory the priest, were reputed to be in heaven; and their bodies were said to be immune from decomposition, a fact which pointed to their saintship. But the Old Believers cannot be permitted to have miracles or saints. The Orthodox archimandrite, therefore, violated the tombs and dug up the bodies. He found the latter really intact, and, breaking their coffins, he saturated the boards with petroleum and then burned the mortal remains of the holy men to ashes.*

To affirm that positive laws are broken in order to render religious persecution possible is but to assert a truism. The proofs are of frequent occurrence. The Senate, by one of its legislative decrees,† authorised the Old Believers to open a chapel in Uralsk. This permission had already been given by the ministry, so that it could not lawfully be called in question. Yet the governor of the province cancelled it; and there was no redress. On another occasion three children in the village of Simonoska, in the Government of Smolensk, were forcibly taken from the custody of their father, one Rodionoff, because he was a Dissenter, and were placed in charge of a complete stranger, who was a member of the Established Church. In many districts of the interior priests of the sect of the Old Believers are arrested and imprisoned because they let their hair grow long like the clergy of the State Church. This punishment is administered in violation of the decrees of the Senate and the circulars of the Minister of the Interior, which have laid it down over and over again that long-haired clergymen are not punishable for neglecting to use the scissors.‡ The Tsar has been told of all these grievances, but he has made no sign.

A tragic story, the hero of which was Bishop Methodius, one of the pillars of the Old Believers, will bring home the cruelty of the system to the minds of humane readers.

* This procedure was described in the 'Grashdanin,' 1896.

† Ukase N. 461, promulgated on February 27, 1900.

‡ See the order of the Consistory of Novo-cherkassk, May 10, 1893, N. 2928.

It has lately been brought to the notice of his Majesty without eliciting even an expression of regret. Born in Cheliabinsk, Methodius was ordained a priest, and zealously discharged the duties of his office for fifteen years before he was raised to the episcopal see of Tomsk. One day the Bishop administered the sacraments to a man who, born in the State Church, had joined the community of Old Believers. This was precisely a case of the type discussed in the Council of the Empire, and so harshly provided for by the Emperor himself. Methodius was denounced, arrested, tried, found guilty, and condemned to banishment in Siberia; and the sentence was carried out with needless brutality. With irons on his feet, penned up together with murderers and other criminals of the worst type, he was sent by *étape* from prison to prison, to the Government of Yakutsk. Through the intercession of an influential co-religionist he was allowed to stay in the capital of that province; but soon afterwards, at the instigation of a dignitary of the State Church, Methodius was banished to Vilyuisk, in north-eastern Siberia, a place inhabited by savages. The aged Bishop—he was seventy-eight years old—was then set astride a horse and tied down to the animal, and told that he must ride thus to his new place of exile, about seven hundred miles distant. 'This sentence is death by torture,' said Methodius's flock. And they were not mistaken. The old man gave up the ghost on the road (1898); but when, where, and how he died and was buried has never been made known.

If the repressive measures to which the Tsar thus attaches his name have little in common with true religion, his constructive action appears to be inspired by thinly-disguised superstition. In miracles and marvels he takes a childish delight, and is as ready to believe the messages from the invisible world which the spirits send through a M. Philippe in the Crimea as in the wonders wrought by the relics of Orthodox monks whose names he himself adds to the roll of Russian saints. His predecessors were more chary of peopling heaven than of colonising Siberia. Nicholas I assented to the canonisation of Mitrophan of Voronesh (1832), whose body was found intact after it had lain over a century in its coffin; but that was the only beatification made during the reign. Alexander II allowed the Holy Synod to enrich the Church

with one saint—Tikhon, Bishop of Voronesh (1861); his successor did not add even one. But the present Tsar has not only canonised two,* but he personally ordered one of the candidates, Seraphim of Saroff, to be proclaimed a saint, in spite of the disconcerting fact that his body, although buried for only seventy years, was decomposed. The Orthodox Bishop Dmitry of Tamboff protested on this ground against the beatification as contrary to Church traditions; but he was deprived of his see and sent to Vyatka for venturing to disagree with the Tsar. His Majesty holds that the preservation of the bones, the hair, and the teeth is a sufficient qualification for saintship; and he has been assured by prophetic monks that God will soon work a miracle and restore Seraphim's dead body in full.

But it would occupy too much space to enter fully into these details, or into the grounds of his Majesty's belief that an heir will soon be born to him through the mediation of his favourite saints, with whose image he lately blessed the Siberian and South Russian troops. The main point is that upon Church affairs, as upon every other branch of administration, the Emperor has brought his personal influence to bear, and made it prevail over the objections, the protests, and the sound advice of those who were best able to guide him.

Who then, it may be asked, influences the autocrat whose personal rule is thus absolute? If his ministers are but his organs and even his women-folk are powerless to move him, whose is the spirit that animates him? The answer lies on the surface. In the sweeping theories of autocracy, which he has made his own, M. Pobedonostseff and Prince Meshtshersky, the Torquemada and Cagliostro of contemporary Russia, were his teachers. Their abstract aphorisms and personal appeals engendered a faith and fervour in the spirit of their plastic pupil which have become second nature; and he now measures every new idea by its bearing upon autocracy. The teaching of these masters is backed by certain Grand Dukes, who form a sort of secret council like that which regulates the

* Theodosius, Archbishop of Chernigoff, canonised April 25, 1896; and Seraphim of Saroff, canonised July 31, 1903.

life of the great Lama of Tibet. Under Alexander III they had no part to play, for that monarch kept them in their places. Nicholas II, on the contrary, is easily swayed by these self-seeking members of his family. They paint their plans in the hues of his own dreams, present him with motives which appeal to his prejudices, and always open their attack by gross flattery. They are consequently more than a match for poor 'Nickie,' as they call him; and their influence over him is pernicious. One of them, who was for years the manager of the vast funds supplied by loyal Russia to build a church to the memory of Alexander II, has yet to account for enormous sums of money which disappeared mysteriously under his administration. The Grand Duke Sergius, Governor-general of Moscow, a man addicted to Jew-baiting and other unworthy sports, is the Tsar's mentor in questions of religion, whether abstruse or practical. It was he who proposed to abolish the Juridical Society of Moscow, which he suspected of liberal tendencies; and, when it was objected that the members were scrupulously observant of every law and regulation, he answered: 'That's my point—they are for this very reason all the more dangerous to the State!' The Grand Duke Constantine offers brilliant suggestions on questions of public instruction and military affairs. The Grand Duke Alexis, whose foreign mistress, a French actress, causes ministers to tremble, is the great palace oracle on the navy, of which, however, he expresses a very poor opinion in private. Perhaps the most influential of all is the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovitch, who has for a considerable time been the *alter ego* of his Majesty.

This grand-ducal ring is the Russian governing syndicate unlimited; and no minister could withstand it for a month. It is able to thwart his plans in their primary stage, to discredit them in the Tsar's eyes during the discussion, or to have them cancelled after the Emperor has sanctioned them. Obviously Russia has more autocrats than one.

Always in want or in debt, the Grand Dukes flock together wherever there is money to be had, like vultures over a battlefield; and, if they stand to win in any undertaking, they care little about the nationality of the losers, and less about the ethics of the game. Their latest

venture was the Lumber Concession on the Yalu river in Corea, which had no little share in plunging our unfortunate country into the present sanguinary war. The scheme had been proposed on the strength of M. Bezobrazoff's assurances that it would bring millions to the pockets of the lucky investors, and add a kingdom to Russia's far-eastern possessions. At first his Majesty, dissuaded by his ministers, shrank from the thought of mixing shady speculations with imperial politics. Accordingly he issued a strict command to the Grand Dukes to keep aloof from the discreditable business. The ducal ring then sent M. Bezobrazoff to knead the imperial will; and so ingeniously was this done that the Tsar not only withdrew the prohibition, but himself joined the investors, and put some millions of his own into the concession. The Grand Dukes reasoned correctly that, if the Emperor had money in the undertaking, everything possible would be done to make it increase and multiply—and with it their own investments. And that is what happened.

Upon the mind of their simple relative the Grand Dukes work with consummate skill. Every candidate for imperial favour whom they present is a specialist who promises to realise the momentary desires of the Tsar. Thus M. Philippe, the spiritualist who appeared during the Emperor's illness in Yalta, promised him a son and heir, and was therefore received with open arms. As time passed, and the hopes which this adventurer raised were not fulfilled, the canonisation of St Seraphim was suggested by a pious Grand Duke and a sceptical abbot, because among the feats said to have been achieved by this holy man was the miraculous bestowal of children upon barren women.

Another of the Tsar's passing favourites was an eccentric idealist named Khlopoff, who occupied a small post in the Ministry of Ways and Communications. Through the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovitch, to whose children he gave lessons, he was brought to the notice of the Emperor, who conceived a liking for the honest, disinterested reformer. Khlopoff idealised the Russian people, enlarged poetically on their qualities, dramatised their actions, and prophesied the marvels they would accomplish after certain reforms had been effected. His Majesty hung upon his eloquent recitals of the peasants'

hopefulness in sufferings, and asked his new friend to travel through the country and to report on the grievances of the people. But after a twelvemonth of Khlopoff's irresponsible activity the ministers grew restive; Pobedonostseff requested the Tsar to give his favourite a responsible position or else dismiss him; and, the novelty of his rhapsodies having worn off, his Majesty ceased to receive the reformer. As he continued, however, to read his reports, M. Pobedonostseff spoke earnestly to the Grand Duke; and Khlopoff was dismissed with a pension.

But the most dangerous of all the imperial favourites is M. Bezobrazoff, a cross between a clever company-promoter and an eccentric. This gentleman, who in his lucid intervals gives proofs of extraordinary shrewdness, began his career as an officer in the cavalry of the Guard, passed on to the post of Master of the Hounds, and in this capacity made the acquaintance of the members of the grand-ducal ring. In time he resigned, and, hoping to do a brilliant stroke of business à l'Americaine, went to the Far East, where he was to look after the financial interests of the Grand Dukes. The Yalu forests seemed to promise well as a speculation, and he returned with a proposal for exploiting them. The sharp criticism with which the project was received by M. de Witte, Count Lamsdorff, and others at first alarmed the Tsar. But M. Bezobrazoff, who was received by his Majesty at the request of the Grand Dukes, had no difficulty in winning over the wavering young monarch; and the Tsar, as has already been stated, himself became an investor. From that moment M. Bezobrazoff's ascendancy began. He returned to the Far East with plenipotentiary power such as no minister ever possessed. General Kuropatkin, Baron Rosen, Count Lamsdorff were subordinated to him; and his report on the Manchurian railway accelerated M. de Witte's fall. He caused Admiral Alexeyeff, a man of narrow outlook and vast ambitions, to be appointed viceroy; and between them they lured the unsteady monarch, and with him all the nation, into the present costly and disastrous war.

Thus the whole Russian Empire, with its peasantry, army, navy, clergy, universities, and ministries, is but the servant of an inexperienced prince who is not only deficient in the qualities requisite to a ruler, but even devoid of the tact necessary to enable him to keep up appearances. At

home the nation is suppressed ; it cannot make its voice heard on the subject of war or peace, of taxation or education, of industry or finance ; it cannot even save its soul in its own way. Abroad the policy of Russia is a policy of expansion without end, planned by officials without scruples, and executed by a Government without responsibility. It has brought things to such a pass that assurances given by ambassadors are not binding on the Foreign Minister ; promises made by the Foreign Minister are disregarded by the heads of other departments and dishonoured by the Tsar ; treaties ratified by the Tsar are not binding on the Government, which may plead a change of circumstances as a justification for breaking them. This theory, which to our shame is become as specifically Russian as the Monroe Doctrine is American, has been firmly established by Nicholas II, who may truly say that the Empire is himself and that his ways are inscrutable.

It is no exaggeration to state that the domestic consequences of this system—if system it can be called—are calamitous. Two ministers have already been murdered ; several governors and officials have been shot at and killed or wounded ; numerous country-houses have been set on fire and burned to ashes ; peasants are being flogged, noblemen banished, lawyers, schoolmasters and officials imprisoned, newspapers suppressed, working men fired upon by troops ; while the whole nation is kept in ignorance and superstition in order that one man should be free to realise his ideals of autocracy. All that broad-minded monarchists like the present writer desire is to save our people without injuring our Tsar. Against monarchical institutions, without which our nation could not work out its high destinies, we have nothing to urge. Even the dynasty we accept as a fact. But we strongly hold that the affairs of the nation, which are not identical with the changing caprices of an individual or the insatiable greed of a ring, should be conducted by competent and moderately honest men independently of Court influence and on ordinary business principles.

Art. X.—INDIA UNDER LORD CURZON.

1. *Speeches of Lord Curzon of Kedleston, 1898-1901.* Calcutta: Government Printing Office, 1901.
2. *The India of the Queen; and other Essays.* By the late Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.S.I. London: Longmans, 1903.
3. *The Middle Eastern Question.* By Valentine Chirol. London: Murray, 1903.
4. *The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie.* By Sir W. Lee-Warner, K.C.S.I. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1904.
5. *Report of the Indian Universities Commission.* Simla: Government Printing Office, 1902.
6. *Parliamentary Papers relating to Tibet, 1904.* (Cd. 1920.)
7. *The Supplements to 'The Gazette of India.'* Calcutta: Government Printing Office, 1899-1904.

THE pause in Lord Curzon's administration made by his visit to England suggests reflection on some points in the record of his work in India. No general survey of that large field can be attempted here, but attention may be called to a few striking achievements in a period of great and general activity in all branches of Indian government.

In no sphere of policy has Lord Curzon done more than in matters relating to the control and defence of the Indian frontier, especially that on the north-west. The Viceroy came to India an acknowledged expert in this branch of Indian politics. He had exhaustively studied Persia, he had travelled in Central Asia, he had visited Abdurrahman at Kabul, and had made himself acquainted with the frontier tribes. With the advantage of this large experience he had formed clear and decided views on frontier questions, in striking contrast to the weakness, rashness, and vacillation which had characterised so much of the Indian and home Government's frontier policy during the previous decade. There was need for a strong man to reorganise our position on the Indian frontier. The forward policy, as practised by the Governments of India during the last ten years of the nineteenth century, had erred not so much in its aims as in its methods; not in desiring extension of control, but in imagining that this could best be effected by delimitation of boundaries which could not be protected,

by costly punitive expeditions followed by ruinous withdrawals, and by exercising the authority of the supreme Government through the circuitous and encumbered channel of the provincial administration at Lahore. In fifty years there had been forty frontier expeditions, ending, in 1897, in the biggest frontier war which had ever been seen. The rising which led to this war might easily have been crushed at the outset but for the weakness of the supreme and the Punjab Governments in August 1897, when they abandoned the forts and garrisons in the Khyber to their fate.

From the first Lord Curzon determined to effect radical alterations in the system which was mainly responsible for this state of things. He began by largely increasing the number of tribal militias, and adopted the policy of gradually withdrawing regular troops from all advanced positions and concentrating them in cantonments in the plains. The trans-frontier posts were, and are being, one by one, taken over by the local levies under British officers; and measures were adopted to strengthen these positions by constructing light railways, running up to and skirting the base of the frontier hills. Finally the British districts beyond the Indus were severed from the Punjab, and united with the trans-frontier charges in a chief commissionership directly under the control of the central Government. The latter of these changes was carried through by the Viceroy, with the consent of his Majesty's Government, but not without the strenuous opposition of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Sir W. Mackworth Young, who is understood not only to have dissented from the policy, but also to have protested against its adoption without official consultation with the local Government. The Viceroy, however, who recommended, and the British Government which authorised the procedure were not anxious to admit a further element of discussion and delay. With regard to the substantive measure, expert opinion has now rallied entirely to the side of the Viceroy; and all these changes are working smoothly and well.

So far as the dealings with the tribes are concerned, Lord Curzon's frontier policy has been an unmingled success; there has been only one operation of any magnitude, caused by difficulties bequeathed to the

Viceroy by his predecessors in the region of Waziristan; and to deal with these Lord Curzon had recourse, not to an expedition, but to one of the oldest forms of frontier coercion—a blockade. Tavernier describes the success of this operation when employed two hundred and fifty years ago by the Mogul against the King of Kashmir; and in its latest form, varied with sallies and reprisals very gallantly executed, it proved no less effective in the twentieth century, and produced important results at a small cost. If to this we add a very small movement against the Kabul Khel Waziris, and some petty operations in Mekran, we have the total of north-west frontier war during the last six years; a total much smaller, and very much cheaper, than that of any corresponding period during the past fifty years. The conclusion is irresistible that this better state of frontier relations is due to the adoption of a better frontier policy; that the new administration and the new militias are doing more to pacify the tribesmen than half a century of expeditions and all the efforts of viceroys and commanders-in-chief; in short, that the new policy has tamed

‘Quos neque Tydides nec Larissæus Achilles,
Non anni domuere decem, non mille carinæ.’

Unfortunately the tribes are but a part, and a small part, of the Indian frontier problem. Of far greater importance is the course of our relations with the ruler of Kabul; and of these it is unfortunately not possible to give a satisfactory account. Here are two countries bound to each other by solemn agreements, one of which could not maintain its independence or even its existence without the support of the other, while the defence of that other against a foreign aggressor is materially facilitated by securing its neighbour in strength and independence, and, above all, by binding it in bonds of friendship to itself. To this end were treaties negotiated, to this end was a large subsidy assigned, to this end have armaments been allowed to be imported through India on a gigantic scale. After this series of unwearying efforts on our part to promote a friendly connexion, with these overpowering motives of self-interest urging the Afghans in the same direction, they remain, ruler and people,

only less unfriendly to, and suspicious of, England than they are of Russia and the rest of the non-Afghan world. Not only is it impossible to discern any improvement of late years in Anglo-Afghan relations, but in some respects a distinct deterioration has taken place. In 1894 an English traveller (Mr Curzon, as he then was) could visit Kabul with the cordial welcome of its ruler; in 1903 a British officer, straying a few hundred yards across the border in search of sport, was actually seized by Afghan soldiers and detained for three weeks in custody, within sight of British cantonments, until the indignant remonstrances of the Viceroy procured tardy orders for the release of the prisoner and the punishment of the authors of the offence. In 1891-2 the total trade between India and Afghanistan amounted to 1,446,000*l.*; in 1900 it had fallen to some 900,000*l.*, a decrease of more than 37 per cent. Although the British communications have been greatly improved on almost every section of the frontier, nothing whatever has been done to facilitate intercourse on the Afghan side. The present ruler even continues to this day his father's orders prohibiting Afghan merchants from using the trans-Khojak section of the Chaman railway line.

Probably the chief cause of the evil must be sought in the proud and difficult character of the Afghan rulers themselves. The last years of Abdurrahman were years of ever increasing severity of government and inveterate suspicion of all foreign influence; the first years of Habibullah have served to reveal a nature which conforms to the familiar Afghan type. Habibullah took a false step at the outset by raising the pay of his army; he went on to exhibit an imperfect sense of loyalty to the British Government by attempting to recruit Afridi sepoys from beyond the Indian side of the Durand boundary line. His devotion to the memory of his father, in itself a praiseworthy feature of his character, impels him to set his face against the slightest alteration in the arrangements made by his father with the Indian Government, and to forbid all forms of dealing with the foreigner which were not sanctioned by the practice of the late Amir. The Government of India is naturally anxious to improve the state of our relations; but, although nearly three years have elapsed since his

accession, the young ruler of Kabul has not yet brought himself to accept the Viceroy's invitation to a meeting in the plains. Meanwhile, as though to mark their disapproval of his attitude, the Government has for some time detained at Peshawar a large consignment of ordnance imported from Europe by the Amir.

The one satisfactory element in the situation is that Habibullah is believed throughout to have exhibited that negative but important form of loyalty to the British Government which consists in taking up a still more unfriendly attitude towards Russia than he does to ourselves. It is believed that as yet, in spite of great temptation, he has done nothing to assist or encourage the dangerous Russian intention of opening up relations with Kabul; and this is, after all, by far the most important point of Afghan policy on which we have a right to be reassured. And yet, though this be so, no government of India ought to be satisfied with such a measure of support; no government of India but ought to work without intermission for that much firmer and more substantial connexion which Mr Curzon, writing at the time of his visit, believed that he foresaw.

There is no doubt that, with a firm policy, that forecast may still be realised. No one who has noted the immense annual influx of Afghan traders into India, who has marked the countless journeyings of the men of Ghazni as they scatter themselves into the farthest parts of India and wander even into the remotest corners of the Australian bush, who has watched this amazing exhibition of enterprise, of self-reliance, of aptitude for scientific commerce, unsurpassed by any class of Orientals in any quarter of the eastern globe—no one who has seen all this can doubt that there exists in the Afghan people a capacity for development, for civilisation, and for fruitful alliance with the British power which is repressed only by the political system prevailing in Afghanistan to-day. The strength of India against foreign aggression would be enhanced by nothing so much as by a strong, prosperous, and contented Afghanistan. At the present day, and through the policy of her rulers, which English critics have visited with such exaggerated praise, Afghanistan is neither contented, nor prosperous, nor strong. She is governed by a military tyranny; and the

revenues wrung from her impoverished people are devoted to the support of a large army which knows nothing of modern warfare, and to the accumulation of armaments which will be little better than useless in the hands of ignorant men. Her trade is stifled by heavy taxes and by crushing duties at the frontiers and in transit between the provinces. Her feudal manhood has been broken by the wholesale executions of nobles, and by the policy of supplanting the ancient chiefs as leaders of the people by a class of turbulent priests. Such was the policy of Abdurrahman, who united his country, and left her exhausted by the act.

We do not for a moment deny that Afghanistan needs to be governed by a strong ruler, or that the late Amir was a vigorous and patriotic prince; but we say that the policy of an enlightened ruler of Kabul would differ from the policy of Abdurrahman as widely as the policy of Akbar differed from the policy of Aurangzebe. Something more than strength of purpose is needed in an oriental ruler to secure the happiness of his people and the stability of his rule. Abdurrahman's purpose was strong, but it was unenlightened; his system of government was firm, but was it stable or buttressed on the happiness of the ruled? If Habibullah wishes not only to revere his father's memory and to profit by his lessons, but also slavishly to adhere to every principle of his diplomacy and government, then he is imitating a model which, for all its grandeur, is essentially imperfect, and pursuing a course of which the Government of India is bound frankly to disapprove. Abdurrahman saw clearly the precarious position of the surviving independent states of Asia, but he failed to understand the special conditions which distinguish from their fellows those states which border on the Indian Empire. We can wish Habibullah no better fortune than that he should some day come to realise more fully the sincerity of India's friendship for Afghanistan. That friendship has many times been expressed by us in words and deeds. Nothing more is required but that the Afghans should be converted to believe in our good faith. The task of the Government of India is not one of forming a policy; that has long ago been settled beyond all probability of change. To-day the task is one of overcoming suspicion, of inducing co-operation, of

making fertile an alliance which has long been sterilised by jealousy and mistrust.

We turn now to examine Lord Curzon's policy on other sections of the frontier, and especially his handling of the critical problems of Persia and Tibet. If any one will study the whole subject of Lord Curzon's foreign policy in an area defined by him as extending from Arabia to Siam, and described by him as constituting the glacis of the Indian fortress, he will find it to be animated throughout with the same spirit of ceaseless endeavour to maintain and establish our predominance in this area, and to prevent any 'rival,' 'unfriendly,' or 'hostile' influence from encroaching on any part of this domain. That the mainspring of this policy is a rooted distrust of Russian objects and Russian methods is not only obvious on its face, but is openly avowed in a remarkable paper by Sir Walter Lawrence, until lately Lord Curzon's private secretary, in the April number of the 'National Review.' That this distrust is well founded, and that this policy is an urgent necessity, has been made plain to the public, in the case of Tibet, by the parliamentary papers; and in the case of Persia, by Mr Valentine Chirol's profoundly interesting book.

Mr Chirol tells the story of recent events in Persia with a moderation, an accuracy, and a self-restraint which enhances tenfold its very disquieting and humiliating effect upon the minds of those to whom the security of India is a care. Mr Chirol explains the importance to India of maintaining her influence, and of excluding the influence of foreign Powers from southern and eastern Persia and from the Persian Gulf. He shows the failure of British statesmanship to grasp the necessity of a course of action in conformity with this object, or the fact that another Power was pursuing a calculated scheme of policy directly conflicting with what should have been our own. From this cause, from a total absence of superior direction, a series of British ministers at Teheran, individually competent and respectable public servants, have sat still in peaceful contemplation of the process by which Russia has reduced the Persian Government to complete subjection to herself. Mr Chirol sets out in detail the lamentable list of military, financial,

commercial, and other measures by which Russia has been permitted virtually to enslave the wretched and degraded ruler and the corrupt Government of Teheran. The series of large loans made by the Russians to Muzaffer-ed-din; the agreements between the same parties in restraint of outside borrowings and of foreign railway enterprise; the organisation of a brigade of Persian Cossacks, officered by Russians, as the single efficient unit in the Persian army; the making over of the collection of the customs revenue to a staff of Belgians, who play the part of jackals to the Russians; the secret revision of the Persian tariff in the interests of Russia, with consequences disastrous to British-Indian trade; the multiplication of Russian consulates; the employment of Russian officers to check the overland trade with India under the pretext of enforcing quarantine—all this is but a part of the list of audacious enterprises by which the Government of the Tsar is compassing the complete Russification of Iran.

What is there to show on the British side? Practically nothing until the opening by Lord Curzon of a policy which may yet be destined to restore the balance and to push back a terrible danger from India's least protected flank. That policy has not yet, with one exception, produced any very large or substantial results; it must be pressed to its conclusion by years of further effort before our legitimate position in Persia can be re-established by its means. The exception referred to is Lord Lansdowne's recent declaration with regard to the Persian Gulf. On May 5, 1903, Lord Lansdowne, from his place in the House of Lords, declared that 'we [i.e. his Majesty's Government] should regard the establishment of a naval base or of a fortified port in the Persian Gulf by any other Power as a very grave menace to British interests, which we should certainly resist with all the means at our disposal.' This announcement may probably be attributed to the pressure brought to bear by the Viceroy of India upon a Government which, up to that time, had shown no sign of having any policy in Persia at all.

Lord Lansdowne's declaration, it is to be hoped, marks the turning-point in the Persian crisis. It marks the moment at which, when Russian influence in Persia was

at its highest, and British influence at its lowest point, the British Government took stock of its position and pointed out the limits beyond which the encroachment of a rival would be treated as a hostile act. So far as it extends, the value of this declaration is great. But it by no means covers the whole of the policy which it is essential to the interests of India that we should pursue. Taken by itself, the prohibition of encroachment in the Persian Gulf might be construed as implying a toleration of encroachment in any other province of the Empire of the Shah. It is precisely against such encroachments that Lord Curzon's policy contends. There is no doubt that, in the view of the Government of India, the shore of the Persian Gulf is not merely regarded as the irreducible minimum to be retained when every other province of Persia shall have passed under Russian control; it is the point of departure from which British predominant influence should once more expand over a section of Persia large enough to form a broad glacis before the Indian fortress-walls. No Indian government will be disposed to grudge to Russia her ascendancy over those provinces of Persia which march with Russian frontiers, if only that ascendancy can be prevented from expanding into a far-reaching dominion over the Persian Empire as a whole. British trade will acquiesce the more readily in its inevitable extrusion from the northern markets if only it can gain security from disturbance, and freedom from the more galling of existing restrictions, in the cities of the south and east. Our interest in Persia may therefore be summed up in the problem, What are to be the limits of the area of British influence, and what are the means by which the exclusion therefrom of Russian influence is to be secured?

Towards the solution of this problem the measures which have already been adopted take us but a little way. They include an increase of our consular representatives in Persia, both British and Indian, some expansion of British telegraphs, the despatch of some small missions, the opening up of a new trade-route by Nushki to Seistan and Meshed, the construction of a railway from Quetta, covering the first short section of this road, and the considerable but transitory effect produced by the viceregal tour and naval demonstration in the Persian Gulf. These

things are satisfactory; but no one sees more clearly than the Viceroy how much more is required before the lost ground can be regained. It would be rash to prophesy the exact form of future measures, but it is evident that three things at least will be required. A sphere of influence coterminous with the Russian sphere will have to be marked out in Persia as in Central Asia. The principle must be laid down that within those limits not only will no official foreign enterprises be permitted, but also that existing arrangements based on foreign intervention are liable to revision. The control of the customs by the Belgians and the new Persian tariff are instances to which this principle would properly be applied. Besides these negative precautions, the policy will be concerned with various sorts of active measures, and especially with commercial development, including the construction of railways by British enterprise. Those are the broad lines on which the problem we have stated must be solved. It is thus, and only thus, that India's interest in the Persian question can be secured once for all.

Each section of the frontier has its serious problems. On one section only is the crisis acute. As soon as he arrived in India Lord Curzon addressed himself with vigour to the task of solving the difficulties with Tibet. Those difficulties had been allowed to drag on, and had become greatly aggravated by years of inaction. The Anglo-Chinese Convention relating to Sikkim and Tibet was signed at Calcutta in March 1890. The general articles and regulations under the same instrument were signed at Darjeeling in December 1893. In both agreements the subsequent course of events disclosed a capital defect. The Tibetans obeyed, violated, or evaded their provisions as it pleased them; and, when the Indian authorities remonstrated, they replied that Tibet did not recognise the agreements, on the ground that they had been made over her head by third parties without her consent. At the beginning of 1899 the situation was as follows. The Convention of 1890 was violated by the Tibetans, who had occupied a tract of grazing land in Sikkim, on the Indian side of the boundary line, and had destroyed certain boundary pillars. The agreement of 1893 for the improvement of trade was nullified by

Tibetan obstruction, and especially by three acts inconsistent with its stipulations: (1) Yatung, the agreed mart, had been completely isolated from the rest of Tibet by a wall built immediately above it in the Chumbi valley; (2) Tibetan traders were not allowed to come to Yatung; (3) Indian goods, admitted free into Tibet in accordance with the stipulations, were subjected to a duty of 10 per cent. at Phari, the first important town on the road into Tibet. The result was that there was no trade at Yatung, and the agreement of 1893 was a complete failure.

Less than three months after his arrival in India Lord Curzon wrote to the Chinese Amban at Lhasa offering to make a frontier concession in return for the moving of the mart from Yatung to Phari. The Amban returned a most evasive reply. On the failure of this proposal the Viceroy attempted to get into direct communication with the rulers of Tibet. This attempt was persisted in for more than two years; it was completely unsuccessful, and the Viceroy's letters were returned unanswered. At the beginning of 1902 no improvement whatever had been achieved; and the patience of the Government of India was being sorely tried.

Not only was there no improvement, but a new and very serious danger was discovered to be threatening. At the very time when the Dalai Lama was returning without ceremony the Viceroy's letter, he was openly corresponding and negotiating with another European Power. Tibet was throwing herself into the arms of Russia; and her Government was committing that last kind of folly which alone is fatal to rulers within the range of India's power. The folly which, in the eighteenth century, brought ruin to Tippu Sultan, and, in the nineteenth century, caused the fall of Shere Ali and of Theebaw, was being re-enacted in the twentieth century by the infatuated Lamas of Tibet.

For nearly a generation, by means of scientific expeditions, and more recently by means of the Mongolian Buriats, Russia had been pursuing the policy of penetration in Tibet. For many years these efforts were not followed by any visible results; but at last, in 1900 and in 1901, the Tsar and his Government had the satisfaction of receiving two missions from Lhasa, headed by the Buriat Lama, Dorjjeff, who was the bearer of autograph letters

from the Dalai Lama to the Emperor and to his Foreign Minister. Following on these events rumours were current in Peking, in St Petersburg, in Sikkim, in Nepal, and in Tibet itself, that advantage had been taken of this exchange of civilities to conclude an agreement in a practical form. News was also brought to Simla that attempts were being made to drill the Tibetan troops at Lhasa, and that breechloaders and other munitions of war had already been secretly imported into the capital.

The Government of India was seriously concerned with this new state of things. They did not spring to the conclusion that Russia contemplated an immediate invasion of India by the north-east; but they saw clearly that certain definite evils must follow from the establishment of Russian influence in Lhasa, or even from the growth of a belief, however groundless, in the minds of the Tibetans that Russia would support them in their dealings with the southern Power. It was easy to foresee three principal evils which would follow from this cause. Firstly, the Tibetans would be encouraged to resist the attempt of the Indian Government to place Indo-Tibetan relations on a better footing. Secondly, the reorganisation of the Tibetan army would lay a heavy burden on Nepal, which had already once before been successfully invaded through the passes, and might seriously curtail the supply of Gurkhas for our Indian regiments. Thirdly, the establishment of the influence of a foreign rival and the exclusion of Indian influence in a country immediately bordering on the Indian Empire must exercise a very disquieting effect on the minds of the native population, and especially on a somewhat susceptible material, the minds of the population of Bengal.

Between July 1901 and November 1903 discussions of importance took place between Simla, London, and St Petersburg. Count Lamsdorff declared that the Tibetan mission to Russia 'was chiefly concerned with matters of religion, and had no political or diplomatic object or character.' The Russian ambassador was authorised to deny the existence of any convention about Tibet, either with Tibet itself or with China, or with any one else, and to disclaim all desire to interfere in that country's affairs. But he was also repeatedly instructed to express his Government's concern at any similar interference on the

part of the Indian authorities. The question was regarded by Russia as one of the integrity of China ; and she stated that she might be compelled to take steps to safeguard her interests elsewhere in the event of any alteration in the *status quo*. On our part assurances were given to Russia that we had no desire to annex Tibetan territory, and, after the advance of the mission, that our sole object was to obtain satisfaction for affronts.

The Russian assurances have been accepted as satisfactory by the British Government, and it is certainly not the intention of this article to suggest that they were not given in good faith. But it is necessary to remember three things. In the first place, Russia has not denied the formation of a religious connexion. In the Buddhism of the Lamas, as often in the history of Islam, religion is politics, and politics are religion. The entire national life of the Tibetans is centred in the observance of a ritual ; and he who patronises their religion patronises also their existence as a state. In the second place, although we may be satisfied with Russia's attitude, that satisfaction cannot be extended to the effect which her encouragement has produced in the minds of the rulers of Tibet. In the official and journalistic letters from the mission there is overwhelming proof that the fixed idea of the support of Russia has been the mainspring of the Tibetan resistance to our claims. And in the third place, as we know to our cost, the promises given by one member of the Russian Government are not regarded as binding by other members.

These, then, were the factors at work when, in 1902, in consequence of the altered circumstances, the Government of India began a more vigorous course of action. Mr White, the political officer in Sikkim, was sent with a small escort to the violated section of the frontier, and caused the Tibetan intruders to withdraw. An attempt was made to continue negotiations on the disputed topics ; but, owing to the more than usually obstinate obstruction of both the Amban and the Lamas, this year's diplomacy was as completely fruitless as its predecessors had been. The patience of the Viceroy's Council was exhausted ; and in a despatch to Lord George Hamilton, dated from Delhi, January 8, 1903, after setting out at length the circumstances and reasons, they proposed to accept and

act upon a suggestion of the Chinese Government for a conference, subject to the conditions that the meeting should take place at Lhasa, that a British mission with an armed escort should proceed to that city, and that a representative of the Tibetan Government should take part in the proceedings.

The Cabinet declined to sanction this proposal, on the ground of deference to Russian feelings while discussions were proceeding. In April a modified proposal was accepted for the despatch of a mission a few miles into Tibetan territory to negotiate at Khambajong. The Amban and the Dalai Lama accepted this arrangement; and Colonel Younghusband, the British commissioner, with other officials and a small escort, reached the place of meeting in July 1903. The Tibetans declined to negotiate, and demanded that the mission should withdraw. After several months had been wasted, a further advance to Gyantse, with a largely increased escort, was finally sanctioned on November 6. After further delays, pauses, attempts at negotiation, and finally sharp fighting, this move was accomplished by April 12, 1904. At this point the Tibetans began to make war upon us in earnest. Reinforcements were sent from India, bringing the total strength of the mission up to some 4500; and on May 12 Mr Brodrick announced in the House of Commons that 'unless the Tibetans consent to negotiate at Gyantse the mission must advance to Lhasa.' Colonel Younghusband sought to forward a communication to the Amban, naming June 25 as the last day for the appearance of competent negotiators; but the Tibetan general at Gyantse returned the letter to the British camp. The advance to Lhasa will, therefore, take place; though what is to happen when we get there, especially if the Lamas still prove obdurate, it is not easy to say.

Looking back over the history of the mission during the last twelve months we see a series of long halts, reiterated ultimatums, and the offering of repeated opportunities for repentance to opponents who as repeatedly refuse to treat, and call upon us to retire. We see the mission moving on from stage to stage with a consumption of time far greater than even the unprecedented difficulties of transport could require, always forbidden to advance further until compelled to do so by the resist-

less force of circumstances. We see the natives encouraged by this air of indecision, the openings for resistance multiplied, and a move which might have been a swift and decisive enterprise transformed into a long and exasperating campaign. For the unnecessary expense, danger, and delay of this method of proceeding the responsibility lies clearly on the Cabinet at home. Had they consented eighteen months ago to the proposal of the Indian Government to advance to Lhasa, the probability is that the Tibetan problem would have been solved ere now. Not only did they veto this proposal, but, as the papers show, they more than once imposed restrictions and delays on the subsequent plans which were submitted; and, instead of giving a free hand to the Viceroy in Council, they evidently led the latter to believe that no proceedings would be viewed with satisfaction which were not conducted on the lines indicated above. With this experience behind us, is it too much to hope that the remaining work of the mission—the march to Lhasa and the conclusion of a settlement—will be left in the hands of the Indian Government with a minimum of interference from home?

What form that settlement will take is a question into which it would be useless to enter now. The 'Times' correspondent has already suggested the division of Tibet into parts, and the recognition of the Grand Lama of Tashi-Lhumpo, near Shigatse, as ruler of the south. Another suggestion of a less promising character is the introduction of a member of the Nepalese reigning house. The putting forward of these schemes is premature. We do not know what government the British commissioner will find at Lhasa; still less can we conjecture what government he will leave behind. Nothing can yet be said of the treaty to be imposed upon the Tibetans, or of the guarantees by which it may be enforced. But that the settlement, when it is effected, will be nearer to the original proposals of the Indian Government than to the milk-and-water suggestions of the British Cabinet, may already be taken as certain. The capital aim of these proceedings is to cry a permanent halt to Russian ambitions for a protectorate over Tibet, with all its consequences of unrest and apprehension on that one secluded part of India's frontier to which rival European influences

have not yet crept close. When this has been accomplished, a boon will have been conferred upon India not inferior to any of the long list of services which the British power has rendered to its ward.

When we turn to Lord Curzon's achievements in internal progress, it is evident that these pages would not suffice even for the barest catalogue of the items of his work. If any one is anxious to read in summary the record of a great administration, he may turn to the series of six long speeches, delivered by the Viceroy at Calcutta in the course of the annual Budget debates. For us it must suffice to select two or three examples of an activity which has been surpassed by no other ruler of India, and has left no branch of public work untouched. In a remarkable passage in the last of those speeches (March 1904), Lord Curzon dwells upon the motives which have led him to concentrate so vast a power of energy upon the task of administrative reform.

'When I came out to India every public body or society without exception that addressed me urged me to pursue a policy of administrative reform. Spare us, they said, adventure on the North-West Frontier, extend railways and irrigation, give us a sound currency, develop the internal resources of the country, promote educational and industrial advancement, manage plague and famine with a due regard to the feelings of the community, free the government machinery from the many impediments to its proper working. I took these authorities at their word, and I have ever since pursued administrative reform—though not, I hope, to the exclusion of other and equally important objects—with an ardour that has never slackened. . . .

'I say in no spirit of pride, but as a statement of fact, that reform has been carried through every branch and department of the administration, that abuses have been swept away, anomalies remedied, the pace quickened, and the standards raised. It has not always been a popular policy, but, if I am at liberty to say so, it has been whole-hearted and sincere. And yet what criticism is now more familiar to me than that no one in India desires administrative reform at all, and that the only benefactor of the people is he who gives them political concessions? Those are not my views. I sympathise most deeply with the aspirations of Indians towards greater national unity, and with their desire to play a part in the

public life of the country. But I do not think that the salvation of India is to be sought on the field of politics at the present stage of her development; and it is not my conception of statesmanship to earn a cheap applause by offering so-called boons for which the country is not ready, and for which my successors, and not I, would have to pay the price. The country and its educated classes are in my view making a steady advance on the path of intellectual and moral progress, and they have every reason to be proud of what they have achieved. That progress will be continued so long as they listen to the wise voices among their own leaders, but it will be imperilled and thrown back if it is associated with a perpetual clamour for constitutional change, and with unreasoning abuse of those who do not grant it.' (*Gazette of India.*)

This passage strikes the keynote of Lord Curzon's administration. It explains why there has never been a Viceroy more generally respected by the whole community, or more thoroughly unpopular with so many particular sects. It explains why he has been so furiously accused of partiality by sections as alien from each other as the English military and the Bengali Babus; why many Europeans have condemned him as 'pro-native,' and many natives as 'pro-European'; and why his Government has been denounced for revolution and sneered at for reaction by newspapers appearing in the same city on the same day. There is perhaps no incident which illustrates more vividly the violence of Indian controversy and the strength of purpose of Lord Curzon's Government than the story of the reform of higher education which that body is now engaged in carrying out. And because this story exhibits most completely the progress of a measure of reform through all its stages—the preliminary inquiry, the report of a commission, the public discussion, and finally the legislation—it may be chosen here for treatment as a typical instance of this department of Lord Curzon's work.

Some account of the abuses which had grown up with, and were threatening to choke, the Indian universities, as well as of the remedies which were proposed for the mischief, appeared in this Review in January 1903. The root of the evil lies in this, that the chief stimulus to the growth of the colleges has been the commercial struggle

for degrees; with the result that education has been sacrificed to examination, and knowledge to 'cram.' A fierce competition for pupils has arisen between the colleges; and many of the weaker institutions are miserably ill equipped with money, with teaching staff, with buildings, with educational instruments, with everything that a college ought to possess. The highest product of the system, the winner of a degree, owes his success, not to intelligent study, but to mnemonic exercise; he is untrained and undeveloped alike in intellect and character, and in a few months or years he is wont to forget everything that he has learnt.

Lord Curzon was more impressed than had been any of his predecessors with the seriousness of the evil; and he gave early intimation in his speeches, as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, that he intended to do what could be done by government intervention to remedy this state of things. In 1901 he called a conference of experts at Simla, and early in 1902 he appointed a commission, with Mr (now Sir Thomas) Raleigh for its chairman, to inquire into the subject of university reform. In the summer of the same year the Commission reported in favour of several drastic changes, including the conferring upon the universities of teaching in addition to examining functions, the reduction of the numbers of the senates or governing bodies, the conversion of fellowships from life-appointments to appointments for five years, the exercise of a much more stringent control by the universities over the colleges by means of the process of affiliation and disaffiliation, and the prescribing for the latter of a minimum scale of fees.

The report of the Commission was received with a storm of protest by the native press and by the leaders of the educated classes. The issue between the Government and the Babus was a simple one. Quality, not quantity, was the object of the reformers; quantity, not quality, was the object of the father of the native youth. On this issue Babudom was shaken to its very foundations. The accusation was freely spread that the Government wished to root out higher education because of the spirit of disaffection to which the higher educated were supposed to be prone. Some faint colour was given to this suggestion by the unfortunate language used by the

Commission when they recommended that 'fees must not be fixed so low as to tempt a poor student of but ordinary ability to follow a university course which it is not to his real interest to undertake.' Of course the person aimed at was not a student at all, but a mere place-hunter with a definitely non-academic object, and with no studious quality or feeling except the parrot-like aptitude of his tribe. But the opening was too good to be lost. The Bengali member of the Commission, Mr Justice Banerjee, saw his opportunity and attacked this proposal and others in a vigorous and dignified 'note of dissent.' 'The poor student of but ordinary ability' became the hero of Bengal. The shades of Colet and Erasmus, the glories of Paris and Bologna, were invoked. Another line of onslaught was based on the personal history of the reformers. Both Lord Curzon and Sir Thomas Raleigh had been undergraduates of Balliol. Both had been fellows of All Souls. Was it not evident, to quote the words of the anonymous scribbler who wrote 'The Failure of Lord Curzon,' that they were pursuing the well-known 'Balliol-cum-Eton policy of restricting education to the rich, the good old Tory policy of keeping the people in ignorance?' Was not the Viceroy 'glowing with eagerness to raise the universities of the East to some distant approach to the "superior" culture and exclusiveness of his beloved Balliol'? Whatever the line of argument employed, the whole of Bengal, and the majority of the educated classes in the rest of India, were agreed in expressing the opinion that the changes indicated by the Commission would be nothing short of a disaster to their cause.

The Government took time for its decision. There was the usual consultation of authorities, and in the course of this long process the public excitement for the time died away. The local Governments advised in favour of certain sweeping changes. The universities, like their more famous western sisters, expressed themselves opposed to any project of constitutional reform. In November of last year Sir Thomas Raleigh introduced the government measure in the Council. The Bill provided for a large reduction in the membership of the senates, for the abolition of life-fellowships, and for some improvements in the constitution of the syndicates or

executive committees of the senates; but it proposed that the proportion of elected fellows should be considerably increased. It laid down the principles which were to regulate affiliation and disaffiliation, and shifted the responsibility for final action in this matter on to the shoulders of the Government. It provided for the issue of regulations by the senates, subject to some measure of government control. It contained, however, no proposal for a minimum limit of fees. A number of representatives of education were added to the Council; and the Bill was proceeded with at once. Mr Gokhale, the distinguished Mahratta, one of the heroes of the Fergusson College, led the attack. In December 1903 the Bill was referred to a select committee; in February 1904 the committee reported; and the final stage was reached in March. Some important, though not vital, concessions had been made by the Government; but a hundred and two amendments on the paper testified to the vigour of the little group of members who championed the Babu cause. Finally, after a debate of three days' duration, the Bill was passed into law.

The result was much more than an official triumph, a mere forcing of a government measure through the Council by the government vote. In the earlier stages of the controversy it had been matter for genuine distress to the reformers that, apart from all the factious and interested opposition, so many eminent and honest men had joined in offering a vehement resistance to the changes which were presently embodied in Sir Thomas Raleigh's Bill. But, as the discussion proceeded, the strength of the government case impressed itself upon the minds of even the native members of the Council; there were defections from ranks usually united in opposition; at the end only three or four members supported Mr Gokhale. If we may judge from the attitude of the native members, this Act is now accepted in India by moderate men of every party as a wise and well-considered effort to remedy a serious disorder in the social fabric. To quote the concluding words of the speech of Lord Curzon:—

‘I am not so sanguine as to think that because we pass this Bill a new heaven and a new earth will straightway dawn upon higher education in India. We shall still be confronted with conditions inseparable from Indian character, Indian

economics, and Indian life. Other reformers will be called for after us, and will, perhaps, do better work than we. But our efforts will mark a definite stage in the educational advancement of the country. It will check tendencies that were leading to demoralisation, if not to ruin; and it will provide opportunities which it will rest with others—Indian as well as European—to turn to good use when we have disappeared and are forgotten.' ('Gazette of India,' March 1904.)

We turn now to a fascinating chapter in the history of Lord Curzon's government. Opinions may differ widely as to what has been the best achievement of the period; the work of foreign policy, or the list of administrative reforms, or the body of legislation, or the improvement of the army, or the development of public works, or the conquest of famine, or the industrial expansion, or the currency measures and the series of successes in finance. For our part we hold almost more worthy of attention a piece of work less widely known or spoken of, which will nevertheless stand high in the history of the epoch as a work of statesmanlike foresight and fruitful in result. We refer to the dealings of the Government of India with the native chiefs.

Sir W. Lee-Warner, in his admirable 'Life of Lord Dalhousie,' takes us back to the days when very different doctrines underlay the British policy towards the native states—the doctrines of independence and international status, non-interference, classification by categories, and annexation by lapse. The great Viceroy of fifty years ago divided native states into three classes, independent, tributary, and created. The first-named were foreign countries. Treaties made with them were 'international contracts.' Their rulers received no protection from the British Government, and no interference in their internal affairs. They regulated their own successions; and the Government of India believed itself to have no more right to interfere with the successions of those princes than it had to meddle with the succession of France. The tributary states occupied an intermediate place. The British sanction was required for their adoptions; and that sanction might be given or withheld. In the third class, that of grantee princedoms, annexation followed automatically on failure of heirs. In the opinion of Sir W. Lee-Warner, Lord Dalhousie's annexations, seven in number, 'added

immensely to the strength of British rule.' In the general opinion of Indian historians, nothing strengthened the same institution more than the solemn reversal of that policy after the Mutiny. It is possible that both opinions may be correct. It is possible that the policy of annexation, inflexibly continued for half a century, might have resulted in such an accession of revenue to the Government, and of material prosperity to the governed, as might have enabled the former to continue to flourish without needing the support or fearing the hostility of the native chiefs. But, by the common consent of most authorities, Queen Victoria, when she reversed that system, chose a better way. The reward of that choice is seen on every page of fifty years of history—in the continuous growth of the loyalty of the princes and of the power and prosperity of their states.

Sir William Hunter, in his 'Life of Lord Mayo,' analysed the principles of the momentous change of policy towards the princes which was initiated by Lord Canning and pursued by Lord Mayo and his successors. The same writer, in his delightful collected essays, posthumously published, traced the growth of the new spirit of loyalty and voluntary service down to the burst of patriotism after Penjdeh and the formation of the Imperial Service Troops. The future historian of Lord Curzon's work in India will be able to point to a further great improvement, not only in the relations between the chiefs and the Government, but also in the standard of duty recognised by the native rulers and in the character of their rule.

Great indeed had been the advance in half a century, if we look back from 1899, the year after Lord Curzon's arrival, to 1849, when, in the words of Sir Charles Napier's striking minute, less than half true but none the less significant, every native prince regarded us with 'venomous hatred.' But greater still was the improvement which was called for if the native states of India were to remain worthy of their high place in the Empire, and if the standard of their government was to approximate to the standards of the day. The Government of India was out of touch with the native rulers. No doubt the Government believed in the importance of preserving native states; no doubt it felt an interest in the personal welfare

of the chiefs and their subjects, and wished to see the members of the aristocracy trained to responsible duties and employed in high careers. With excellent intentions, it had failed to impress those sentiments upon the minds of the rulers. There was not enough personal contact or stimulus to exertion; the system of education which had been devised for native chiefs was falling rapidly to pieces; and nothing had been done to remedy that lack of outlet for ambition which was the chief excuse for indolence and the chief cause of discontent. The result was that the native rulers as a body were infected with apathy. The 'advanced' section, who had adopted European habits, were wont to waste their time in prolonged tours of pleasure on the European continent, and not only neglected their duties during their absence, but viewed them with distaste on their return. The more old-fashioned princes were decaying also, but decaying in the good old-fashioned way. They had shut themselves up in their palaces, and the *purdah* lay heavy over what went on within. There were some bright exceptions. There were not a few good chiefs with high ideals, ruling well and wisely; but the general trend was towards decay. The whole administration was decaying with its rulers; and, amid the general hum of Indian progress, the native states alone were not advancing with the times.

To the task of stimulating the native princes to recognise higher standards of duty Lord Curzon addressed himself with a vigour which, since the great days of Lord Mayo, no Viceroy had displayed. Less than a year after his arrival in India, he was entertained by the Maharaja Sindhia at a banquet in Gwalior. In his speech on that occasion, a speech which deserves to be compared with the famous oration of Lord Mayo to the Rajput princes, Lord Curzon defined the native chief's position.

'The native chief has become, by our policy, an integral factor in the Imperial organisation of India. He is concerned not less than the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner. He cannot remain *vis-à-vis* of the Empire a loyal subject of her Majesty the Queen-Empress, and *vis-à-vis* of his own people a frivolous or irresponsible despot. He must justify and not abuse the authority committed to him; he must be the servant as well as the master of his people.

He must learn that his revenues are not secured to him for his own selfish gratification, but for the good of his subjects; that his internal administration is only exempt from correction in proportion as it is honest; and that his *gadi* is not intended to be a divan of indulgence, but the stern seat of duty. His figure should not merely be known on the polo-ground, or on the racecourse, or in the European hotel. These may be his relaxations, and I do not say that they are not legitimate relaxations; but his real work, his princely duty, lies among his own people. By this standard shall I, at any rate, judge him; by this test will he in the long run, as a political institution, perish or survive.'

Two serious obstacles to the success of this policy required to be cleared away. The education provided for the princes under the system founded by Lord Mayo was not satisfactory; the chiefs' colleges were defectively organised, and had failed to conciliate the general support of the chiefs. When the youthful noble had received a training there was a lack of outlet for his talent; and he was apt to be especially discouraged by the barring of the higher openings in the hereditary calling of Indian nobles, the career of arms.

Lord Curzon embarked on a complete reform of the chiefs' colleges. The experiment of adapting an English institution to an Indian need had certainly not wholly failed. The colleges, four in number, had for years been managed by picked officers with that energy and devotion to duty which picked officers in India bring to their daily work. They had turned out many promising pupils; and that fine personal influence on character, which is the highest fruit of an English public school, had been stamped upon many a young Indian noble by men like Mr Chester Macnaghten at Rajkot and Colonel Loch at Ajmere. Nevertheless the results as a whole were disappointing. The colleges had failed to secure in a proper measure the confidence and support of the ruling chiefs. They needed more money and they needed more pupils. The Mayo College at Ajmere could accommodate one hundred pupils; in 1899 it had less than fifty on its rolls. The chiefs of Rajputana seemed unwilling to come forward; so did the chiefs of Central India and the chiefs of the Punjab. The main cause of failure lay in certain radical defects in the course of studies. Too

much attention was paid to English, and even to superfluous accomplishments such as playing on the piano; too little to vernacular training, on which every native's future usefulness depends.

Lord Curzon undertook to carry out the necessary reforms. Early in 1902 a conference was held in Calcutta at which representatives both of the chiefs and of the school authorities were present, and a committee was appointed which recommended a number of reforms. In March 1904 a further conference on the same subject was summoned to meet at Ajmere. In consequence of these discussions it appears to have been decided to close the college at Indore, to discard the stereotyped course of education, to strengthen the teaching staff, to remodel the examinations, and to transfer the control of the colleges to the Indian Foreign Office. Towards the cost of these measures the Government announced that it would make an annual grant. It should be added that, as the reports have not been published, it is difficult to distinguish between what has been proposed and what is being actually carried out.

In these reforms the Government asked for the co-operation of the princes; and it was given without stint. The native chiefs are very sensitive to comments from high quarters, and the Viceroy lost no occasion of stimulating them to help. At Alwar he praised the Maharaja for his fluent English, for his loyalty to the Mayo College, for the number of pupils who went thither from his state. At Ajmere he deplored the absence of pupils from the important state of Udaipur. At Lahore he urged the chiefs to greater liberality; at Rajkot he commended the Thakors for their consistent support. The appeal of the Viceroy met with a general response. Promises of money were forthcoming from nobles who had previously given little or nothing; pupils were sent from states which had sent none before. The roll of the Mayo College, which numbered only forty-four names in 1899, now numbers over ninety. Important chiefs flocked to the Ajmere conference; and included in their number were such names as Udaipur, Gwalior, Jaipur, Bikanir, Bahawalpur, Kotah, Kutch, Orcha, Sailana, and Gondal. The Maharaja of Udaipur, child of the Sun, conservative, retiring, old-fashioned, and formerly no

helper of the college, actually came forward to preside over a committee, composed exclusively of princes, appointed to prepare a scheme for the religious education of the boys. Here was the fruit of the policy of co-operation. In the chiefs' committee, working on the reform of the colleges, was seen the living germ of a great institution, destined, perhaps, to spread out far beyond this early limit, and to gather up the chiefs of India in one great federation for Imperial ends.

But the Government of India was not satisfied with reforming the education of the nobles. It was necessary to take a wider survey, and to consider the prospects of the Indian aristocracy for leading useful and patriotic lives. For those who were already, or were about to become, rulers, there was no need to look about them. Their work in the fullest measure lay ready to their hands. For the rest—for the younger members of the ruling houses, for the non-ruling nobles, for the great landowners and their sons, there was indeed no lack of useful occupation, whether in the management of their own properties, or in the civil administration of native states, or in the native armies and the Imperial Service Troops. The Indian aristocracy were not satisfied with that. They were moved by a higher ambition, which they could not gratify. They cherished one supreme desire, and it was denied. The nobles of India wished to be allowed to serve their Emperor in the Indian army, and no amount of honours and distinctions could suffice to console them for their exclusion from its ranks.

From time to time the idea of admission had been put forward, agitated, even officially considered; one scheme, which came to nothing, of an Indian Sandhurst, had been associated with the Duke of Connaught's name. The fear of the unknown had always triumphed; the fear of sowing dragon's teeth, and those tremendous scruples which restrain British Governments in India from innovation and organic change. The Government of Lord Curzon was the first to realise in this matter that the danger of refusal was becoming greater than the danger of acceptance, and that even in the regular army, as well as in administration, the co-operation of the nobles would widen and strengthen the basis on which the Empire rests. In the first year of the present

reign, and with his Majesty's cordial approval, Lord Curzon founded the Imperial Cadet Corps.

The scheme was carried out as an experiment on a modest scale. In two years twenty-three cadets have been enrolled. The full course for a commission extends over three years. Seven cadets are now engaged upon their final year's training, and will, if they qualify, receive commissions and be employed on the staff, or on other extra-regimental duties. The 'Pioneer,' which speaks with great authority on military subjects, warns the cadets against forming false hopes of success in this career. It points out that the profession of arms is now one of the most arduous that can be adopted; that, in the light of Lord Kitchener's recent memorandum, the modern staff-officer must be the possessor of all the talents; and that a cadet's course of training affords but slender preparation for such a purely professional task. It may perhaps be wise to issue warnings against exaggerated hopes of easy and rapid success. But it would be most unwise and short-sighted to belittle the vast possibilities of the cadet-corps scheme. Natives have risen to positions of eminence in the civil service, with especial distinction on the judicial side. The same class of person has also shown a certain capacity for discharging with credit the duties of higher administrative posts. But the class which furnishes cadets is new material for the service of the Sirkar. It is not from this class that native magistrates or native judges are drawn. The highest class of Indian native is taking up anew its old hereditary calling; and all the resources of science are at its disposal to perfect itself under new conditions in a career in which it excelled for centuries before we conquered India. What ground is there for thinking that these men, with their feet on the first step of the ladder, will throw away their opportunity and be satisfied with an empty name? What ground is there for thinking that when Indian sepoys excel as sepoys, and Indian subadars excel as subadars, the new type of Indian Imperial officer will not also prove itself in the highest degree worthy of its rank? It seems to us more reasonable to expect the contrary; to predict the rise of a new class of skilful soldiers from the ancient stock of Rajput heroes and Mahratta leaders and Afghan

conquerors; and to see in Lord Curzon's scheme the small beginning of a larger movement in which an Empire, having opened to her sons an honourable career from which they were excluded, sees her strength increased by their responsive effort.

We have dealt now with three general measures affecting institutions; the reform of the chiefs' colleges, the beginning of a system of chiefs' conferences, and the formation of the Imperial Cadet Corps. It is possible that a fourth measure of this class may be attempted, affecting the scope and status of the Imperial Service Troops. These forces now number some 15,500; many of the contingents are in a high state of efficiency; since 1890 they have seen active service in Hunza Nagar, Chitral, Tirah, China, and Somaliland, and have acquitted themselves well. But it has always been felt that the system on its present basis is but a halfway house to some more solid form of military federation; and Lord Curzon, in a speech at Jodhpur, the home of two of the finest Imperial Service regiments, suggested a policy which has since been elaborated by the Aga Khan, and which may presently be taken up by the Government and the ruling chiefs.

So much for the reform of institutions. It is a class of measures which would lose the greater part of its value if it were not balanced by other elements of great importance in the policy of the Indian Government towards the native chiefs. Direct intimate personal relations between the Government and each individual ruler; direct stimulus to individual exertion; direct discouragement of individual idleness—these are the most essential conditions of success. The present Viceroy has paid a quite unprecedented number of visits to native states; he has kept up a private correspondence with their rulers with his own hand; he has continuously brought to bear, alike on the great ruling princes, on the wealthy Maharajas of Bengal, and on the wild chiefs of the frontier, both in east and west, that very powerful pressure which only the head of the Government in person can exert. The great test of the chiefs was furnished by the famine; in that crisis they were made to realise that their credit with the Government depended on the earnestness of their efforts to approximate in famine work to British standards; and it is gratifying to read, in the report of the last Famine

Commission, that the members were 'struck with the advance made in this famine by most of the Durbars towards bringing their relief into line with the humane policy of the British Government.'

The good results of this influence have been large and numerous; only one or two striking instances can be quoted here. The premier state of Hyderabad was first among the native states of India, not only in size and rank and dignity, but also in maladministration and torpor and decay. The Nizam, a prince of good abilities and a fine sense of honour, was averse from public business. His state was crammed full of abuses; his finances were decaying; his officials were notoriously obstructing the efforts of the British Residents. The great unsettled grievance of Berar had now lain in abeyance for more than twenty years; and the most experienced Residents had been wont to warn their Governments of the danger of touching on this ancient sore. Lord Curzon invited the Nizam to Calcutta, and paid him a return visit at Hyderabad. The Nizam made promises, and kept them with scrupulous fidelity. He renewed his interest in public business; he reduced his personal expenditure; he accepted the services of a British officer to reorganise his finance. The Nizam's famine administration was officially commended by the Secretary of State. Above all, the question of Berar was finally and honourably settled; and in the settlement the Nizam agreed also to make a large reduction in the number of his irregular troops. There are plenty of reforms left to accomplish; but no one will deny that, in the first few years of the new century, Hyderabad has made a substantial advance.

Another instance of awakening is the case of Jaipur. The Maharaja of Jaipur had been a recluse in his palace; the government was in a Babu's hands. Not only is the Maharaja now administering his own affairs, but he has filled the position of adviser to the Indian Government on points of ceremony, and has appeared before the English public as a model leader of orthodox Hindus. Emulating each other in the race for distinction by merit are two young princes of high qualities—the Maharaja of Gwalior and the Maharaja of Bikanir. The child of a race of turbulent forefathers, himself a model pupil of the Aitchison College, the young Nawab of Bahawalpur

burns with zeal to show by hard work that he deserves the honour of his installation by the Viceroy. Everywhere among the ranks of the princes we see the awakening of conscience and the rise of new standards of Imperial duty and new conceptions of what loyalty means.

There is another side to the picture. Of course not all the princes have risen to the Viceroy's appeal. There have been, and are, some cases of persistent neglect of duty; and for these the Government has only stern discouragement in word and deed. There is a story that a Babu, who sat outside the Viceroy's tent during an interview which had been granted to an unruly and troublesome Nawab from beyond the border, reported that the chief had issued from the Lord Sahib's presence 'sweated and surprised.' The hand of the Government has fallen heavily on Central India. Two ruling chiefs, tried and convicted of capital offences, have been deposed. The bearer of the proud name of Holkar has been permitted to abdicate, and his son rules in his stead.

If we look round for a sign of the general adoption by the princes of the Imperial burden, we find it in the Delhi Durbar. Sixty-six chiefs attended the Durbar of 1877. One hundred and two chiefs attended the Durbar of 1903. In 1877 they attended as spectators of an Imperial pageant. In 1903 they attended as participators in an Imperial rite. Every important ruling chief, who was not either excused for poverty or prevented by an unavoidable reason, attended the last Durbar. In that great ceremony the chiefs of India signified their active acceptance of the policy of co-operation; and with that acceptance a new era in Indian history has begun.

Art. XI.—THE LIFE AND PHILOSOPHY OF HERBERT SPENCER.

1. *An Autobiography*. By Herbert Spencer. Two vols. London: Williams and Norgate, 1904.
 2. *Social Statics*. By Herbert Spencer. London: Chapman, 1850.
 3. *A System of Synthetic Philosophy*. By Herbert Spencer. Ten vols. London: Williams and Norgate, 1862-96.
- And other works by the same author.

It was eminently in accordance with the fitness of things that the philosopher of evolution should end by writing the evolution of himself; and in spite of its ponderous length and other palpable faults, the result is a very interesting human document. If Spinoza said that he would treat of God and the mind exactly as if he were concerned with lines, planes, and solids, Spencer analyses himself in these pages much as he might dissect a natural history specimen. If we add to the outspoken candour of its self-analysis the unconscious revelations of mind and character of which it is full, and the details which it furnishes of his early upbringing and the history of his ideas, it is manifest that the two volumes give us a much more intimate knowledge than we have hitherto possessed, both of the antecedents of the man and the *milieu* in which his work was produced. Consequently they must be an important aid to a better estimate of that work, both in its strength and its limitations. The history of an idea or a set of ideas is often the best criticism that can be offered. Of the 'Autobiography' itself, as a literary product, it would be easy to speak too harshly. Some allowance must be made for the circumstances of its composition. Dictated as a rough outline of facts so early as 1875, it was taken up again in 1886 after the last and most serious breakdown in Spencer's health, when more serious mental work was impossible. A little time was spent daily in putting the memoranda into shape; but even this was not done in chronological order. Haunted, as he was apt to be, by the thought that he might not survive to complete the record, he decided to take up first the sections which he deemed of most importance, passing thus freely back and forward

from one period of his life to another, and gradually filling up the gaps of the narrative as destiny proved kinder than his fears.

Such a desultory mode of composition explains many redundancies and repetitions; and the ebb-tide of mental energy during which much of it took shape may also explain the frequent slackness of style and the prolixity of non-significant detail through which the reader has often to plough his way. There is a lack of proportion in the narrative, especially as it advances in the second volume. Sometimes it is as if the writer were at the mercy of his memoranda; and we have a chronicle of journeys and incidents possessing no interest beyond the fact that they happened at a certain date, and help Spencer to block out the blank spaces of his memory. At other points an association of ideas betrays him into general reflections; and he airs for a page or two some of his favourite 'nonconformities,' with which readers of his works are already sufficiently familiar. It is at times—an unkind reader might say in the author's style—as if the centres of inhibition had temporarily abdicated their function. Shall we say that such causes as these help to explain the 1098 pages to which the volumes run? or must this damning fact be ascribed to an egotism so massive and unconscious that it loses all the pettiness of ordinary vanity? Spencer makes an excuse for the egotistic suggestion which the autobiographical form necessarily involves, but it does not seem to have occurred to him that the scale of his posthumous monument would be taken as the true measure of his self-absorption.

Still, after all these grave deductions have been made, the 'Autobiography' somehow succeeds in holding the reader's interest and even engaging his sympathy. It lies in the nature of the man who is its subject that we find in it neither the beautiful simplicity of character which charms us in Darwin, nor the vivid personality which gives light and animation to Huxley's 'Life.' Spencer's story owes its attraction chiefly to its frankness, to the transparent honesty of the narrator, and the absence of all affectation or pose. Paradoxical as the statement may seem in view of Spencer's achievement, the mind here portrayed, save for the command of scientific facts and the wonderful faculty of generalisation, is common-

place in the range of its ideas; neither intellectually nor morally is the nature sensitive to the finest issues. Almost uneducated except for a fair acquaintance with mathematics and the scientific knowledge which his own tastes led him to acquire, with the prejudices and limitations of middle-class English Nonconformity, but untouched by its religion, Spencer appears in the early part of his life as a somewhat ordinary young man. His ideals and habits did not differ perceptibly from those of hundreds of intelligent and straight-living Englishmen of his class. And to the end, in spite of his cosmic outlook, there remains this strong admixture of the British Philistine, giving a touch almost of banality to some of his sayings and doings. But, just because the picture is so faithfully drawn, giving us the man in his habit as he lived, with all his limitations and prejudices (and his own consciousness of these limitations, expressed sometimes with a passing regret, but oftener with a childish pride), with all his irritating pedantries and the shallowness of his emotional nature, we can balance against these defects his high integrity and unflinching moral courage, his boundless faith in knowledge and his power of conceiving a great ideal and carrying it through countless difficulties to ultimate realisation, and a certain boyish simplicity of character as well as other gentler human traits, such as his fondness for children, his dependence upon the society of his kind, and his capacity to form and maintain some life-long friendships. A kindly feeling for the narrator grows as we proceed; and most unprejudiced readers will close the book with a genuine respect and esteem for the philosopher in his human aspect.

For the student of Spencer's personality and ideas the opening chapters of his 'natural history,' in which he depicts the stock of which he came and the social surroundings in which his early years were passed, are probably the most valuable. This account of his ancestry—in particular the picture of his father and of the uncle who superintended his education—gives us already, 'in large letters,' some of the most striking intellectual and moral features which we associate with the philosopher. Spencer sums up the outstanding characteristics of the race as 'independence, self-asserting judgment, the tendency to nonconformity, and the unrestrained display of

their sentiments and opinions, more especially in respect of political, social, and ethical matters.' 'A general absence of reticence' and 'a tendency to disagree' are perhaps simpler and more illuminative phrases. Wesleyanism was traditional in the family; but 'they dissented more or less from that form of dissent.' In the case of Spencer's father, 'his repugnance to all living authority' led him to the Quakers' meeting-house—not, according to his son, because he had adopted any of their special tenets, but because 'the system was congruous to his nature in respect of its complete individualism and absence of ecclesiastical government.' Among negative traits of the family Spencer instances

'a comparatively small interest in gossip. Their conversation ever tended towards the impersonal. . . . There was no considerable leaning towards literature. Their discussions never referred to poetry or fiction or the drama. Nor was the reading of history carried to any extent by them. And though in early life they were all musical, the æsthetic in general had no great attractions. It was rather the scientific interpretations and moral aspects of things which occupied their thoughts.'

Ethical and political discussion were the very breath of their nostrils, and they were all reformers of a radical type.

The notes we get of Spencer's desultory and fragmentary education are also instructive. He had a boy's taste for natural history; and through helping his father to prepare experiments for his pupils he gained some acquaintance with physics and chemistry, and interest sufficient to carry him through a popular manual of the latter subject. In a skipping way he read a good deal in the medical and scientific periodicals lying about the house, besides books of travel and history from the various libraries of the town. During the years of his more systematic education under his uncle the chief feature of the boy was his repugnance to language-study and his leaky memory in that direction. To mathematics he took more kindly. The sum of his acquirements when he returned home at the age of sixteen was meagre enough.

'A fair amount of mathematics had been acquired; and the accompanying discipline had strengthened my reasoning

powers. In the acquisition of languages but trifling success had been achieved; in French nothing beyond the early part of the grammar and a few pages of a phrase-book; in Greek a little grammar, I suppose, and such knowledge as resulted from rendering into English a few chapters of the New Testament; and in Latin some small ability to translate the easy books given to beginners—always, however, with more or less of blundering. Education at Hinton was not wide in its range. No history was read; there was no culture in general literature; nor had the concrete sciences any place in our course. Poetry and fiction were left out entirely.'

For the three and a half years following this, up till his twenty-first birthday, he was learning his profession as an engineer, and actively engaged on the London and Birmingham and other railways then in course of construction. During these important years his mental development continued in the same course. His mathematical studies were carried further; and his letters to his father at this time were filled with geometrical problems and solutions. He did not, however, proceed to the higher developments of the subject, for at a later period we hear of his succumbing to his 'constitutional idleness' in an attempt to master the differential calculus. The letters also discuss mechanical problems, and contain speculations on various questions in physics. Some lectures on chemistry in the town where he was placed prompted a resumption of that study; and the collection of the fossils disclosed by the railway cuttings through the blue lias clay led to some study of geology and to the purchase of Lyell's 'Principles,' then recently published. But beyond these scientific and practical interests there is no record of those stirrings of the higher life of the imagination or those impulses towards the deeper problems of philosophy and religion which commonly visit thoughtful youth in early years. Spencer, indeed, makes at this time the impression of a matter-of-fact young Englishman of an inventive turn of mind and with a distinct bent towards reflection on physical problems, but without much emotional depth of nature or delicacy of feeling, and with an almost singular absence in his composition of what Carlyle used to call the 'mystical' element, that is to say, the specifically religious and metaphysical impulse. The religious beliefs in which he had been

brought up were slowly losing their hold upon him without any sense of mental crisis, obviously because they had never been held with any emotional tenacity, had never, indeed, satisfied in his case any personal need. The creed of Christendom, he says in a passage which, by the shallowness of its analysis, sufficiently exemplifies his own defective endowment, was

'evidently alien to my nature, both emotional and intellectual. To many, and apparently to most, religious worship yields a species of pleasure. To me it never did so; unless, indeed, I count as such the emotion produced by sacred music. . . . But the expressions of adoration of a personal being, the utterance of laudations and the humble professions of obedience never found in me any echoes.'

At the age of twenty-one he gave up his engineering appointment in order to devote himself to working out the idea of an electro-magnetic engine which his father had conceived. But within a month it became apparent that the idea could not be practically applied. The next seven years of his life were of an unsettled and desultory character. More than once he was glad to accept temporary engineering engagements; but, with the exception of about eighteen months thus occupied, the time was passed in 'speculating and experimenting, leading to no practical results.' The idea underlying his restless intellectual activity was the hope of making some discovery or perfecting some mechanical device which might yield a commercial return. But, though some of the ideas looked promising enough, and one contrivance was actually patented, the labour was in vain so far as its immediate purpose was concerned. The range of these speculations and experiments, however, gives a vivid impression of the mental 'discursiveness' on which Spencer dwells with some complacency as a characteristic trait. In addition to these scientific interests there also persisted in the young man the family bias towards social and political reflection; and his first appearance as an author in 1842 was in the department of political ethics. A visit to Hinton in that year, and a renewal of political conversations with his uncle, suggested a series of letters to 'The Nonconformist' newspaper embodying their common views. His uncle gave him a letter of introduction to

Mr Edward Miall, under whose editorship the paper had recently been established as an organ of the advanced dissenters; and a series of twelve 'Letters on the Proper Sphere of Government' appeared in the same year.

These 'Letters,' republished as a pamphlet in 1843, are not to be taken, perhaps, as expressing more than what he calls 'the mental attitude of the Spencers.' The principles expounded were those which he drew in with the air he breathed; in the language of his own philosophy, they might almost be styled connate. The 'Letters' elaborate the definition of the State which he had volunteered to a friend the year before—'a national institution for preventing one man from infringing upon the rights of another'; and they apply the theory of individualism with the rigour and vigour of two-and-twenty. Even war is excluded from the sphere of government interference, and is to be conducted as a private enterprise on joint-stock principles. Spencer is fain to confess, in the light of later reflection, that here he has gone too far, though, as he characteristically adds, he might have cited in support of his argument 'the case of the Iroquois league.' But, although modified in particulars, the 'Letters' give us in their first form ideas which controlled the whole course of Spencer's political philosophy; and to the writing of them he traces himself, in a natural development, the successive stages of his subsequent authorship—

'Had they never been written, "Social Statics," which originated from them, would not even have been thought of. Had there been no "Social Statics," those lines of inquiry which led to the "Principles of Psychology" would have remained unexplored. And without that study of life in general, initiated by the writing of these works, leading, presently, to the study of the relations between its phenomena and those of the inorganic world, there would have been no "System of Synthetic Philosophy"' (i, 212).

The train of thought initiated in the 'Letters' was followed out at intervals during the years that followed, and latterly became Spencer's chief intellectual interest. Thus in 1843 he writes: 'I have been reading Bentham's works, and mean to attack his principles shortly'—a purpose executed in 1850 in the opening pages of 'Social

Statics.' As he explains the matter himself, he had become dissatisfied with the 'Letters';

'not so much with the conclusions set forth as with the foundations on which they stood. The analytical tendency had begun to show itself. What was the common principle involved in these conclusions? Whence was derived their ultimate justification? Answers to these questions had become clear to me; and it was the desire to publish them which moved me to write' (i, 305).

Accordingly, in the early months of 1846, we find him beginning a course of reading with a view to his projected book. Characteristically, however, he 'paid little attention to what had been written either upon ethics or politics. The books I did read were those which promised to furnish illustrative material.' By April 1847 he had collected a large mass of matter for his 'Moral Philosophy,' and it was 'beginning to ferment violently.' By September of the same year he was able to send thirty written pages of the introduction to his father; and during 1848, while his future hung in suspense, he was thinking out other chapters as he rambled through the fields round Derby, his thinking being done then, as always, he tells us, mainly while walking. So uncertain did the future seem in the beginning of 1848 that there was talk of emigration to New Zealand. Another scheme ventilated was that he should join his father in starting a school to be conducted on enlightened educational principles. But before the end of the year his appointment as sub-editor of the 'Economist' relieved him from the necessity of considering such alternatives. The record of his life henceforth is one of steady progress towards a goal which gradually took definite shape in the ten years which followed his settling in London. The first step towards it was taken by the publication of 'Social Statics.' Many of his evenings were devoted to it during his first year in London. Great pains were taken with the style; and it was the end of 1850 before the book saw the light.

Before considering its contents more carefully it will be well, at the point now reached, to ask what the seven years just reviewed may be regarded as having added to Spencer's mental equipment and outlook, and what general

characteristics of the man may be gleaned from his narrative. It is clear that his multifarious activities had given him a considerable knowledge of men and business affairs, while his studies and experiments had increased his acquaintance with physical science and natural history. Besides novels, he also read some of the books which were impressing his contemporaries, such as 'Sartor Resartus,' Emerson's 'Essays,' and Ruskin's 'Modern Painters.' The last-mentioned he seems to have valued chiefly because it gratified his spirit of dissent by daring to express unfavourable opinions about some of Raphael's works. There are several references of an antagonistic nature to Carlyle's doctrine of hero-worship in 'Social Statics'; and Carlyle appears from time to time in the 'Autobiography' as the incorporation of retrogressive ideals. In one passage 'some months in a dark dungeon on bread and water' are suggested as a cure for his anti-utilitarianism and his 'ridiculous notion that happiness is of no consequence.' But, though unaffected by alien ideas, Spencer was not insensible to vigour and charm of style; and his reading at this time extended to the poets. Shelley's 'Prometheus Unbound' he pronounces, in a letter of 1845, to be 'the most beautiful thing I ever read by far'; and he rates Shelley about that time as 'by far the finest poet of his era.' The mature philosopher is rather at a loss to explain this early enthusiasm, and can only surmise that the poem satisfied one of his organic needs, variety. He finds the same trait in connexion with food. 'Monotony of diet is not simply repugnant; it very soon produces indigestion.' The reader will probably conclude more justly that the Spencer of the forties was more of a human being than the dyspeptic analyst of the 'Autobiography.' A letter to his intimate friend, Lott, in 1844, describing a journey through South Wales, reveals a vivacity of unsophisticated feeling which goes much farther to explain the phenomenon than the laboured hypothesis referred to.

As regards his philosophical equipment, it is to be remarked that there continues the same singular absence of the metaphysical, and even of the psychological interest. 'All through my life,' he says, 'Locke's "Essay" had been before me on my father's shelves, but I had never taken it down; or at any rate I have no recollection of having

read a page of it.' Mill's 'Logic' he glanced at when it came out, but did not carry the study far. When he came across a translation of Kant's 'Critique of Pure Reason' in a friend's house, he stumbled at the outset over the doctrine that time and space are subjective forms, and went no further.

'It has always been out of the question,' he explains, 'for me to go on reading a book the fundamental principles of which I entirely dissent from. Tacitly giving an author credit for consistency, I, without thinking much about the matter, take it for granted that if the fundamental principles are wrong, the rest cannot be right, and thereupon cease reading—being, I suspect, rather glad of an excuse for doing so.'

Acting on this highly dangerous principle, he tells us that whenever, in later years, he took up the 'Critique,' he similarly stopped short after rejecting its primary proposition. Spencer's interests during the period under review continued, in fact, to be those of physical science on the one hand and of socio-political theory on the other. But although he had no traffic with the philosophers, a certain amount of reflection on what may be called natural theology was inevitable as his belief in historical Christianity dropped from him. The older natural theology summed itself up in the doctrine that the world had its origin in the creative act of a personal God. A letter to his father in 1848 shows that Spencer had considered this theory and definitely set it aside as incapable of proof, taking up for himself a purely agnostic position.

'As regards "the ultimate nature of things or origin of them," my position is simply that I know nothing about it, and never can know anything about it, and must be content in my ignorance. I deny nothing and I affirm nothing, and to any one who says that the current theory is *not* true, I say just as I say to those who assert its truth—you have no evidence' (i, 346).

The turn given to the argument and the phraseology in which it is expressed anticipate very closely, as he claims, the doctrine set forth in 'First Principles' twelve years later. In truth, beyond the new name given to it by its baptist Huxley, there is nothing recondite in this easy method of shelving the question. It is the daily practice

of millions. Besides, the cosmological problem, isolated thus and treated as a quasi-scientific question, ceases to have a properly religious interest. 'Men have fought for the doctrine that God made the world,' says Mr Mallock, in his recent philosophical novel, 'The Veil of the Temple,' 'merely because they considered it essentially bound up with the doctrine that a God exists who has dealings with the human soul.' It was because Spencer's religious emotions were so little engaged that the agnostic position seemed to him so simple, and apparently satisfied him so completely.

The choice of a satisfactory title for his volume caused considerable difficulty; and the one eventually fixed upon led to misapprehensions of a kind to which Spencer was all his life peculiarly sensitive. The title he originally had in view, 'A System of Social and Political Morality,' comes much nearer a simple and intelligible description of the contents than the scientific metaphor which he afterwards pressed into his service; a friend, however, whom he consulted thought it too bald and threadbare. 'Demostatics,' a word used in the introduction (but suppressed before publication) was the next idea. Spencer considered that it accurately described the subject-matter of the book, namely, the maintenance of social equilibrium through conformity to the law of equal freedom, and suggested the strictly scientific character of the treatment. But the publisher was decisive against this pedantic neologism; and the term 'Social Statics' was eventually determined on as expressing the same idea, though his uncle warned him that it would be taken by many people for 'Social Statistics.' The sub-title in the original form, 'a system of equity synthetically developed,' is perhaps more accurately descriptive than that which finally appeared—'the conditions essential to human happiness specified, and the first of them developed'—though the second has the advantage of indicating a relation between the new work and the general utilitarian doctrine of contemporary English thought. The title, 'Social Statics,' if it was not productive of the confusion which his uncle feared, produced, not unnaturally, a wide-spread impression that the ideas promulgated in the book were inspired by the social philosophy of Comte, who had actually employed the same term for one of the divisions

of his system. It is true that a perusal of the book would have disclosed fundamental differences between the two thinkers; but it was difficult for the ordinarily constituted man to conceive that any one should undertake a treatise on social philosophy without making himself acquainted with Comte's work, a knowledge of which, through Mill and others, had been spreading in England for ten years previously; still less that he should use a technical title of that thinker's coinage without intending to indicate some relationship between their views. But we have seen how, when he set about systematic reading for his book, Spencer consistently eschewed his predecessors in the same field; and, incredible as it may seem, we have no reason to doubt his assertion that he 'then knew nothing more of Auguste Comte than that he was a French philosopher; did not even know that he had promulgated a system having a distinctive title, still less that one of its divisions was called "Social Statics."' The misunderstanding thus originated continued to haunt and waylay Spencer through the greater part of his life, much to his annoyance, and was the occasion of emphatic and repeated disclaimers.

When we turn to the work itself, the source of its inspiration is found to be much nearer home. The conclusions, as we have seen, are, with very slight modifications, those of the 'Letters on the Proper Sphere of Government.' With the practical doctrines he remained entirely satisfied; it was with their theoretical basis that he was concerned. He desired, in accordance with the synthetic bent of his mind, to exhibit the various conclusions as so many applications of a single principle, from which, when formulated, they might be deductively derived. The principles of 'the Spencer family,' in short, had to be philosophised; and the principles of the Spencer family were an exceptionally clear and logical expression of the principles of the English political dissenters, and of contemporary Radicalism generally. Spencer began his systematic reading for the book in the year of the abolition of the corn laws. The philosophical Radicals had given place, in popular influence, to the Manchester school; but both were at one in their devotion to the principle of *laissez-faire*. By both the laws of political

economy were interpreted, not in the modern scientific sense as statements of what would happen under certain given conditions—statements therefore necessarily abstract, and in no sense preceptive as to what ought to happen in the concrete—but as ordinances of nature divinely instituted, with which it would be impiety as well as folly to interfere. Those who were not in the habit of speaking theistically shared the current optimism as to the beneficent operation of these great impersonal forces. The old Liberalism also, fresh from its campaign against privilege, still occupied the field with its purely negative ideal of freedom from restriction.

Such was the contemporary English world in which Spencer's political thinking grew to maturity; by temperament 'radical all over,' he absorbed the principles of political individualism and economic optimism so completely that they assumed for him the guise of intuitions of the moral sense. When he proceeds to formulate the 'true fundamental intuition which can be logically unfolded into a scientific (or, as he elsewhere calls it, a purely synthetic) morality,' what we get is the famous doctrine of Natural Rights, deriving in England from John Locke, exported to France and receiving there world-wide expression from Rousseau and the Declarations, which embody 'the principles of 1789,' reimported for English political use by Tom Paine and the earlier Radicals, and practically animating the Benthamite reformers, in spite of the fact that Bentham wrote a treatise on 'Anarchic Fallacies' to expose the French Declaration. 'The law of equal freedom,' or 'the liberty of each, limited alone by the like liberty of all,' is the first law, says Spencer; and 'we may almost say that the first law is the sole law' on which scientific morality and the organisation of society depend. Or, as he states it later in italics, 'Every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man.' He cites it himself in one place as the doctrine that 'all men are naturally equal,' and expressly refers, in illustrative vindication, to Locke's 'Treatise on Civil Government,' the Declaration of American Independence, 'the late European revolutions and the preambles to the new constitutions that have sprung out of them,' 'the political agitations that have run a successful course

within these few years,' and even to 'the maxim of the Complete Suffrage movement.' This principle being laid down, it follows that government is a necessary evil; is, indeed, 'essentially immoral' (p. 207). It is necessary because man, now compelled by the increase of population to live in the social state, retains the predatory instincts of his primitive life, and therefore does not uniformly respect the rights of others. But it is a transitional phase of human development, not essential but incidental. Progress is in all cases towards less government; and, 'as amongst the Bushmen we find a state antecedent to government, so may there be one in which it shall have become extinct.' Indeed, such extinction is inevitable, because the process of civilisation means the adaptation of man to his new conditions. Man possesses indefinite adaptability, and 'humanity must in the end become completely adapted to its conditions.'

'Progress, therefore, is not an accident, but a necessity. Instead of civilisation being artificial, it is a part of nature; all of a piece with the development of the embryo or the unfolding of a flower. The modifications mankind have undergone, and are still undergoing, result from a law underlying the whole organic creation; and, provided the human race continues, and the constitution of things remains the same, these modifications must end in completeness. As surely as the tree becomes bulky when it stands alone, and slender if one of a group; as surely as the same creature assumes the different forms of cart-horse and race-horse, according as its habits demand strength or speed . . . so surely must the human faculties be moulded into complete fitness for the social state; so surely must the things we call evil and immorality disappear; so surely must man become perfect' (p. 65).

In the meantime, till this consummation is arrived at, the State has its function. It may be defined as 'men voluntarily associated for mutual protection' (p. 275). There is 'nothing to distinguish it in the abstract from any other incorporated society.' Citizenship is 'willingly assumed'; and one of the indefeasible natural rights enumerated is 'the right to ignore the State,' that is, to 'secede from' it, 'to relinquish its protection, and to refuse paying towards its support' (p. 250). Police protection (and, he now adds with a grudge, protection

against external enemies) being the purpose for which the State is instituted, its duty must be rigorously limited to this function. When it seeks to 'interfere' in any other way, whether it be by trying to regulate commerce or by maintaining a religious establishment, by instituting poor-laws or providing for national education, by imposing sanitation or maintaining the currency and the postal arrangements, it is transgressing its proper sphere and displaying, indeed (p. 295), 'an absurd and even impious presumption' by taking into its own hands 'matters that God seems to be mismanaging,' and undertaking to set them right. Those in whom the power of self-restraint needs educating

'must be left to the discipline of nature, and allowed to bear the pains attendant on their own defect of character. The only cure for imprudence is the suffering which imprudence entails. . . . All interposing between humanity and the conditions of its existence—cushioning off consequences by poor-laws or the like—serves but to neutralise the remedy and prolong the evil. Let us never forget that the law is adaptation to circumstances, be they what they may' (p. 353). Again: 'Inconvenience, suffering, and death are the penalties attached by nature to ignorance as well as to incompetence—are also the means of remedying these. And whoso thinks he can mend matters by dissociating ignorance and its penalties lays claim to more than divine wisdom and more than divine benevolence' (p. 378).

To guard ignorant men against the evils of their ignorance by protecting them, for example, against quack prescriptions is 'to divorce a cause and consequence which God has joined together.' What a contrast there is, he exclaims, between the 'futile contrivances of men and the admirable silent-working mechanisms of nature' (p. 355).

'Always towards perfection is the mighty movement—towards a complete development and a more unmixed good; subordinating in its universality all petty irregularities and fallings-back, as the curvature of the earth subordinates mountains and valleys. Even in evils the student learns to recognise only a struggling beneficence. But above all he is struck with the inherent sufficingness of things, and with the complex simplicity of those principles by which every defect is being remedied—principles that show themselves alike in the self-adjustment of planetary perturbations and in the

healing of a scratched finger, in the balancing of social systems and in the increased sensitiveness of a blind man's ear, in the adaptation of price to produce and in the acclimatisation of a plant. Day by day he sees a further beauty . . . contemplation thus perpetually discovering to him a higher harmony and cherishing in him a deeper faith. And now, in the midst of his admiration and his awe, the student shall suddenly see some flippant red-tapist get upon his legs and tell the world that he is going to put a patch upon nature. Here is a man who, in the presence of all the wonders that encompass him, dares to announce that he and certain of his colleagues have laid their heads together and found out a way to improve upon the divine arrangements. . . . These meddlers, these self-appointed nurses to the universe, have so little faith in the laws of things and so much faith in themselves that, were it possible, they would chain earth and sun together lest centripetal force should fail! Nothing but a parliament-made agency can be depended on. . . . Such, in essence, is the astounding creed of these creation-menders.'

Astounding is the word which most readers will be inclined to apply to these and many similar passages of Spencer's by reason both of their apparent heartlessness and of their colossal optimism. It will be observed how, along with the doctrines already referred to, Spencer reproduces in his argument the deification of nature's arrangements, which plays so great a part in eighteenth-century thought. He talks freely of 'the creative purpose' and 'the divine idea' (which is, indeed, the title of one of his chapters), and, as we have seen, of the resistless march of progress carrying this idea to its realisation. This deeply-rooted optimism, a relic of the 'natural religion' of the preceding century, Spencer carries over into his later philosophy of evolution, after he has dropped the theistic setting; and though he broke it down at points, as he proceeded, by inconsequent admissions, he was unaware—and probably many of his readers are equally unaware—how much his original espousal of the theory was due to the working of this optimistic teleology, and how insensibly it influenced his reading of the evolutionary process. Progress as a beneficent necessity, complete adaptation as the goal—these are the original inspiring thoughts, even although they be crossed in the end by the paralysing thought of 'Dissolution,' which

reduces the cosmos to an aimless cycle of alternate building up and pulling down.

It is obviously impossible in the present context to criticise Spencer's political individualism. It has been pointed out times without number that the theory which he carries to its apotheosis is as unhistorical as it is unphilosophical. The pre-social unit with his natural rights never existed; the free individual is the goal of social evolution, not its starting-point. We can only note, therefore, that, however salutary Spencer's later protests may have been in his '*Man versus the State*,' as a counterpoise to crudely conceived socialistic schemes, or as an invigorating discourse upon the virtues of self-help, his social theory in its totality is no more than a survival in the modern world. An organic theory of society and the State, derived more or less remotely from Hegel or from Comte, has definitely superseded the older individualism, though, as time goes on, incorporating more fully into itself the truths and ideals of the earlier view; for Hegel also, it may be remembered, defines the history of the world as 'none other than the progress of the consciousness of freedom.' Save for a few anarchists and the new individualists who range themselves under Nietzsche's banner—individualists strangely unlike the old, for their profoundest belief is in the inequality of man and the right or duty of the stronger to subjugate and exploit his neighbour—the conception of man as essentially social, and of the State as the organ of the general will, has so firmly established itself that Spencer's pamphlets during the last twenty years sounded like a belated echo, and he had the air, even to himself, of one crying in the wilderness. The remarkable thing is that while Spencer wrote a special essay on 'the social organism' so far back as 1860, and greatly contributed to popularise the phrase, his own political thinking remained to the end dominated by the conceptions of an abstract and unhistoric individualism, an essentially pre-evolutional phase of thought.

The importance assigned to 'Social Statics,' and the space devoted to tracing the education and life-circumstances, of which it was the outcome, are justified by Spencer's own statement in 1879 when he interrupted the regular course of his publications to write '*The Data of Ethics*.' He had begun to fear, as he says in the preface

to that book, that health might not permit him to reach 'The Principles of Ethics,' the last part of the task he had marked out for himself.

'This last part of the task it is' (he continues) 'to which I regard all the preceding parts as subsidiary. Written as far back as 1842, my first essay, consisting of letters on "The Proper Sphere of Government," vaguely indicated what I conceived to be certain general principles of right and wrong in political conduct; and from that time onwards my ultimate purpose, lying behind all proximate purposes, has been that of finding for the principles of right and wrong in conduct at large a scientific basis.'

He uses similar language in a letter of February 1878, in which he declares that 'the whole system was at the outset, and has ever continued to be, a basis for a right rule of life, individual and social.' Besides this estimate of the place which his ethical and political doctrine held in its author's scheme of thought, it has already been pointed out that the principles and assumptions which he elaborated in 1850 were of decisive influence in shaping his statement of the philosophy of evolution. A closer consideration of the steps by which his cosmic doctrine was reached yields proof of this assertion.

The chief interest of the decade between 1850 and 1860 lies in the gradual evolution in his mind of the idea of a system of philosophy. In the series of articles published during these years, supplemented by Spencer's comments in the 'Autobiography,' we can follow the stages of his thought with some minuteness. To these years belong his intimacy with George Eliot and the formation of lasting friendships with Lewes, Huxley, and Tyndall. It was in a ramble with Lewes, in the autumn of 1851, that he first met the expression, 'the physiological division of labour,' which stamped firmly upon his mind the analogy between biological and social evolution, of which we already find traces in the 'Social Statics.' His friendship with G. H. Lewes led him to read not only his friend's novels, but also his 'Biographical History of Philosophy,' from which he derived his first acquaintance with the general course of philosophical thought. 'Up to that time,' he says significantly, 'questions of philosophy had not

attracted my attention.' And although, by his theory of benevolence and justice in 'Social Statics,' he had shown his aptitude for psychological reflection, psychology likewise (apart from some phrenological speculations) had remained outside his interests. 'I had not, up to 1851, made the phenomena of mind a subject of deliberate study.'

The next step in the organisation of his ideas, and one to which Spencer consistently attributed decisive importance, was his coming across the formula in which Von Baer summed up the development through which every plant and animal passes—the change from homogeneity to heterogeneity. It obviously expresses in a more generalised form the aspect of organic growth already described by the economic metaphor of division of labour. Formulating the nature of the transformation in a purely structural instead of a functional way, and presenting, as Spencer says, 'a more graphic image' of the change, it naturally suggested the transference of the conception to the inorganic world. But, before this idea definitely took shape in his mind, Spencer's newly awakened psychological interest led him to extend the idea of development to the mental sphere. He had long before given in his adhesion to the Lamarckian doctrine of the transmutation of species, moved rather by a sort of anti-supernatural instinct than by adequate evidence in support of it; and in 1852, in a short essay on 'The Development Hypothesis,' he had publicly professed his faith in the theory, basing it upon the cumulative effect of functionally produced modifications. In the 'Principles of Psychology' (which occupied him during 1854 and 1855) mind, animal and human, is treated in close connexion with its bodily conditions; and the biological idea of adaptation is transferred to the mental sphere, progressive adaptation being defined as increasing adjustment of inner subjective relations to outer objective relations; while the correspondence between the two is described as advancing from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, and as increasing in speciality and complexity. It is significant that the closing paragraph of the 'Psychology' emphatically repeats the belief of 'Social Statics' in the 'beneficent necessity displayed in the progressive evolution of the correspondence between the organism and its environment.' This correspondence 'must become more

and more complete'; 'the life must become higher and the happiness greater.' The admission of free-will, it is argued, would interrupt this 'advance to a higher harmony.' 'There would be an arrest of that grand progression which is now bearing humanity onwards to perfection.'

The same inspiration is revealed in the title of his next important piece of work, an essay on 'Progress, its Law and Cause,' which he agreed to write for the 'Westminster Review' in the autumn of 1854. This article, which states the law of evolution for the first time as a law of universal application, had its origin in the stir and enlargement of his ideas which accompanied the writing of the 'Psychology'; but, owing to the breakdown which followed the publication of that work, it did not appear till 1857. It may be regarded, he says, as 'the initial instalment of the "Synthetic Philosophy."' Beginning with the nebular hypothesis, Spencer carries the law with a wealth of illustration through cosmic, geologic, organic, and social phenomena, and concludes, exactly in Von Baer's terminology, that, 'from the remotest fact which science can fathom, up to the novelties of yesterday, that in which progress essentially consists is the transformation of the homogeneous into the heterogeneous.' He next proceeds to ask whether the universality of the law does not imply a universal cause; and this cause he finds in what he calls the multiplication of effects. Every cause produces more than one effect, and hence 'it is an inevitable corollary that through all time there has been an ever-increasing complication of things.' 'Should the nebular hypothesis ever be established, then it will become manifest that the universe at large, like every organism, was once homogeneous; that, as a whole, and in every detail, it has increasingly advanced towards greater heterogeneity.' And 'thus,' he concludes on the old note, 'progress is not an accident, not a thing within human control, but a beneficent necessity' (Essays, i, 52).

Scarcely had he finished this essay, however, before he seemed to discover a more ultimate cause of evolution in the instability of the homogeneous.

'The several parts of any homogeneous aggregation are necessarily exposed to different forces—forces that differ either in

kind or amount; and, as a corollary from the law of "the conservation of force," it follows that unlike changes will be produced in the parts thus dissimilarly acted upon.' (Ib. 281.)

At the same time he took occasion to supplement his account of the evolutionary process by calling attention to certain features which had been overlooked in the previous essay. 'As usual, Herbert, thinking only of one thing at a time,' was a frequent reproach of his father's in his boyhood; and, in his preoccupation with the advance towards greater heterogeneity, he had overlooked or temporarily forgotten the fact that it is not an advance towards mere heterogeneity, but is characterised by what he here calls 'subordinate integrations.' In the living being, for example, the parts become consolidated into definite organs with distinct functions, which are at the same time closely united as members of one whole. And so we arrive at the definition of the law which appears in the first edition of 'First Principles' (1862):—

'Evolution is a change from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity, through continuous differentiations and integrations' (p. 216).

The formula had not even yet, however, reached its final stage of elaboration. In 1864, while working at the 'Classification of the Sciences,' he awoke to the fact that, in making differentiation the primary trait, he had been, as it were, putting the cart before the horse. Aggregates of matter must first be formed before the growth of complexity in their structure can be profitably considered. Hence the primary phase of the process is the integration of matter, a process which necessarily implies a concomitant dissipation of motion. Accordingly, in 1867, 'First Principles' was largely recast; and the evolution formula appeared in its final shape:—

'Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity, and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation.'

For our present purpose, however, the subsequent elaboration of the formula is of subordinate interest;

the important step was taken by Spencer in the two essays referred to above. This is shown by the fact that, within three months of the publication of the second, he had drafted the scheme of a system in which 'the concrete sciences at large should have their various classes of facts presented in subordination to these universal principles.' Commenting in the 'Autobiography' on the nature of the advance made, Spencer characterises it as a transition of the theory in his own mind from the inductive to the deductive stage.

'With this change from the empirical to the rational, the theorem passed into the region of physical science. It became now a question of causes and effects reduced to their simple forms—a question of molar and molecular forces and energies; a question of the never-ending redistribution of matter and motion considered under its most general aspects.'

At the same time, he adds,

'the indefinite idea of progress passed into the definite idea of evolution when there was recognised the essential nature of the change as a physically determined transformation conforming to ultimate laws of force.' ('Autobiography,' ii, 12.)

Both these statements are true, though in both cases their implications are different from what Spencer imagined. By progressively generalising the statement of what happens in development so as to arrive at a 'graphic image' of the process, Spencer has at length reduced it to a problem in mechanics. Now any event or fact may unquestionably be described as a phase in 'the never-ending redistribution of matter and motion'; but it is quite another thing to suppose that, when we look at the process or the product in that abstract way, we have 'recognised the essential nature of the change.' On the contrary, that is the least we can say of it, the most abstract description we can give of it, a description, moreover, which leaves out, as we shall see, all that we ordinarily understand by evolution. And that leads to Spencer's second statement regarding the substitution of the idea of evolution for that of progress. There seems no reason to doubt, from the whole history of the idea in Spencer's mind, and from his first mode of stating it, that the statement of evolution was originally intended

to apply to the universe as a whole. 'The universe at large,' he had said, 'like every organism, was once homogeneous; as a whole, and in every detail, it has unceasingly advanced towards greater heterogeneity.' It was this conception of one vast cosmic process irresistably advancing towards a great consummation which inspired his imagination—a consummation which might not inaptly be styled, in language used by himself in 'Social Statics,' the realisation of a divine idea. In particular, this beneficent necessity was carrying mankind onwards to the goal of a perfectly adjusted human life. But it soon became evident that, if the cosmic process be regarded simply as redistribution of matter and motion, the series of changes which we have described as evolution is no more characteristic of it than the opposite series of changes which may be called dissolution.

Accordingly, in 'First Principles,' this counter-process is for the first time introduced, towards the close, in a chapter on equilibration, in which it is pointed out that, in every case, the process of evolution has its impassable limit. Spencer is now driven, accordingly, to relegate his goal, 'the establishment of the greatest perfection and the most complete happiness,' to the penultimate stage (that of what he calls 'the moving equilibrium'), the last stage of all being that complete equilibration which, in the case of an organism, we call death. Unable, however, to acquiesce in 'universal death' as the final goal, he finds refuge in the idea of 'alternate eras of evolution and dissolution'—'an alternation of evolution and dissolution in the totality of things.' But it is perfectly illegitimate to deal with 'the totality of things' as a finite evolving object; and, if it were possible, then no such resurrection as Spencer anticipates from the clash of systems would be possible, for there would be only *one* dead mass left. But, in point of fact, the two processes are always going on simultaneously; and, if we are to be quite strict, neither notion has any application to the ceaseless shiftings of the cosmic dust. One organism, society, or system is growing towards its perfection while another has entered upon the downward path. Moreover, when we speak of such individuals, and of their perfection and evolution, we are introducing conceptions which are quite irrelevant and quite unintelligible at the

purely mechanical standpoint. Nor can the process of evolution, so regarded, be deduced from any laws of matter or energy known to physicists. The hopeless ambiguity of Spencer's law of the persistence of force, and of his use of physical conceptions generally, has often been criticised, but never so conclusively—one might almost say so remorselessly—exposed as in Professor Ward's 'Agnosticism and Naturalism.'

The projected interpretation of 'the detailed phenomena of life and mind and society in terms of matter, motion, and force,' and the consequent 'development of science into an organised aggregate of direct and indirect deductions from the persistence of force,' was thus, *ab initio*, foredoomed to failure. In the case of life, there is the belated but none the less significant and courageous confession of Spencer himself in the chapter on 'The Dynamic Element in Life,' added to the revised edition of the 'Principles of Biology' in 1898.

'We are obliged to confess' (he says) 'that life in its essence cannot be conceived in physico-chemical terms. The processes which go on in living things are incomprehensible as results of any physical actions known to us' (pp. 117, 120).

Of his own previous definition of life he does not hesitate to say that, while it gives due attention to the connexions among the manifestations, 'no attention has been made to that which is manifested. Its value is comparable to that of a cheque on which no amount is written.' We are forced, therefore, to conclude that 'that which gives the substance to our idea of life is a certain unspecified principle of activity. The dynamic element in life is its essential element.' A similar difficulty met him in the case of mind or consciousness, the specific nature of which was clearly irreducible to material terms. In this case Spencer sought to evade the difficulty by falling back upon the modern principle of psycho-physical parallelism, but at the cost of importing into his system a dualism quite inconsistent with the promises held out in 'First Principles' of a deduction from the persistence of force. To note these inevitable failures implies no desire to vindicate a supposed miraculous creation of certain life-germs as an appendix to the material world at some given moment in the past. Creation in such a sense does not

enter into science, and it forms no part of modern philosophy. What is meant is simply that, if we attempt to 'interpret the phenomena of life and mind and society in terms of matter, motion, and force,' instead of reaching, as Spencer contended, 'the essential nature' of the phenomena, we leave that nature out altogether. And this he ultimately confessed.

It may seem a strange thing to say, that the ideas of the apostle of evolution were, philosophically speaking, of a pre-evolutional type. But, after all, it is not more of a paradox than what so many commentators have demonstrated of Kant, that the author of the critical philosophy was still, on many points, in bondage to the dogmas of pre-critical thought. Spencer's idea of explaining all phenomena in terms of molar and molecular forces is akin to his treatment of religion; or rather the latter is a special case of the general point of view. Religion is a phenomenon in which a historical development towards worthier conceptions and nobler feelings is certainly demonstrable; but, although recognising this development, Spencer discovers the essence of religion in the acknowledgment of an unknowable power—a residuary belief which he finds common to all forms of the religious consciousness. To some extent, it may be said, Spencer emancipates himself from his own logic and seeks a law of development; but the tendency thus exemplified, to find 'the essential nature' in rudimentary abstractions like matter and motion, or in some feature which remains the same through all the stages of a process, is really to thrust us always back upon a bare beginning or an identical element, and so, in effect, to deny the reality of evolution altogether. Spencer congratulated himself, as we have seen, upon the substitution of the definite idea of evolution for the indefinite idea of progress. But few self-congratulations have ever been more premature; and already, in the second edition of 'First Principles' (p. 286), there is a paragraph intimating that the term is 'open to grave objections,' and is only used, *faute de mieux*, because it is 'now so widely recognised as signifying sundry of the most conspicuous varieties' of the process that it would be impossible to substitute another word. What he professed to seek was 'a word which has no teleological implications'

(Autob. i, 100). Perhaps he meant by that phrase adaptation by an external designer; in any case he failed to see that his own cosmic conception, at least up to its penultimate stage, was thoroughly teleological; and that, without a teleology of some sort, there can be no development, but only indifferent and meaningless change.

It was undoubtedly, as we have seen, the teleological implications of the process, especially in their ethical and social aspect, which from the beginning cast their glamour over Spencer himself. So late as 1882, in a postscript to his speech in New York, he speaks of Nature as leading men unknowingly or in spite of themselves to fulfil her ends; 'Nature being one of our expressions for the ultimate cause of things, and the end, remote when not proximate, being the highest form of human life.' And only in the edition of 1900 was a sentence withdrawn from the 'First Principles' which stated that, after deducing from the persistence of force all the various characteristics of evolution, 'we finally draw from it a warrant for the belief that evolution can end only in the establishment of the greatest perfection and the most complete happiness' (ed. 4, p. 517). He had explained in a controversial essay that the fittest who survive are not necessarily, or indeed most frequently, the best; yet, so late as 1893, in the preface to the second volume of his 'Principles of Ethics,' while expressing his disappointment that in this part of the subject he has derived no direct aid from the general doctrine of evolution, he says that indirectly it sanctions certain modes of conduct by showing that they 'fall within the lines of an evolving humanity, are conducive to a higher life, and are for this reason obligatory.' So impossible is it to exorcise the teleological implications of the word, so meaningless would the word be without them.

And if Spencer himself was to the last unconsciously swayed by these implications, it was certainly, in part, to the comforting suggestions of the word that the theory owed its prestige in uncritical circles. Another factor which helps to explain the extraordinary vogue of Spencer's philosophy was its coincidence in point of time with Darwin's discovery. But for the inductions by which biological evolution was established as a fact, it seems doubtful whether a speculative theory like that of

Spencer's would have commanded, in scientific and general circles, the attention and acceptance which, as a matter of fact, it gained. Spencer became the philosopher of the new movement; and if many of the ardent fighters of its battles were probably in Darwin's case, who confessed that he 'did not even understand Spencer's general doctrine,'* they were equally ready to 'suspect that hereafter he will be looked at as by far the greatest living philosopher in England, perhaps equal to any that have lived.†' And as the protagonists were men of distinguished ability, men to whose ideas the future belonged, Spencerianism became the creed to which every one naturally gravitated who desired to take part against obscurantism. Similar motives operated to spread his fame on the Continent, where the feud between 'enlightenment' and 'clericalism' is bitter and constant. Partly, also, continental thinkers who stood above such animosities—a historian like Höffding for example‡—were impressed by the fact that here at last was an English thinker who had given to the world a *Weltanschauung*—a complete system of philosophy; a philosophy also which realised their expectations by carrying out consistently the realistic traditions of English thought.

But these more or less adventitious aids are not sufficient to explain Spencer's reputation. It is more deeply based. Although his philosophical interpretation of the process was radically at fault, and although he has, of course, no property in the idea of evolution as such, still his early and independent espousal of the idea, and his consistent advocacy of its universal extension at a time when such views were very far from being triumphant, made him an intellectual force of very great importance. So completely has the idea passed into the fibre of our thinking that it is difficult for the men of the present generation to estimate the full extent of our debt to Spencer's work. And especially is this the case as the philosophical defects of his own imposing structure become more and more evident. The absence of the metaphysico-religious element in his constitution and his ignorance of preceding philosophy, both of which the 'Auto-

* 'Life and Letters,' iii, 193.

† Ib. 120.

‡ 'Die Englische Philosophie,' p. 241.

biography' so strikingly confirms, explain what a critic so fair and temperate as Henry Sidgwick was fain to call 'the mazy inconsistency of his metaphysical results.' Dominated by an exclusively physical imagination, he accepted as dogmas the practical assumptions of common sense. Hence, when attacked by thinkers like Green and Professor Ward, although sensitive in points of detail, he completely failed to appreciate the fundamental defects or inconsistencies against which their criticisms were directed. But it was impossible for a mind so active as Spencer's, so fertile in hypotheses, and so full of apt illustration, to marshal the sciences of life and man under the guidance of a great idea without enriching them by a wealth of luminous suggestion. In the very context of the stricture quoted above, Sidgwick speaks of 'the originality of his treatment and leading generalisations, the sustained vigour of his scientific imagination, the patient, precise ingenuity with which he developes definite hypotheses where other thinkers offer loose suggestions.'

What is here said of the 'Psychology' is no less true of the 'Biology' and of his important contributions to sociological theory. But, besides such departmental work, it was much to hold aloft in an age of specialism the banner of completely unified knowledge; and this is, perhaps, after all, Spencer's chief claim to gratitude and remembrance. He brought home the idea of philosophic synthesis to a greater number of the Anglo-Saxon race than had ever conceived the idea before. His own synthesis, in the particular form he gave it, will necessarily crumble away. He speaks of it himself, indeed, at the close of 'First Principles' (ed. 1), modestly enough as a more or less rude attempt to accomplish a task which can be achieved only in the remote future and by the combined efforts of many, which cannot be completely achieved even then. But the idea of knowledge as a coherent whole, worked out on purely natural (though not, therefore, naturalistic) principles—a whole in which all the facts of human experience should be included—was a great idea with which to familiarise the minds of his contemporaries. It is the living germ of philosophy itself.

A. S. PRINGLE-PATTISON.

Art. XII.—THE JAPANESE REVOLUTION.

1. *Japan nach Reisen und Studien.* Im Auftrage der Königl. Preuss. Regierung dargestellt, von J. J. Rein. Two vols. Leipzig: Engelmann, 1881-6. (English translation of vol. i. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1884.)
 2. *Japans Volkswirtschaft und Staatsaushalt.* By Karl Rathgen. In Schmoller's *Staats- und social-wissenschaftliche Forschungen*, Bd. x. Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1891.
 3. *The Constitutional Development of Japan, 1853-1881.* By Toyokichi Iyenaga, Ph.D. (Johns Hopkins University Studies). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1891.
 4. *History of the Empire of Japan.* Compiled for the Japanese Commission of the Exhibition of Chicago, 1893, and published by order of the Department of Education. Translated by Captain Brinkley. Tokio: n.d.
 5. *Correspondence respecting the revision of the Treaty arrangements between Great Britain and Japan.* London: Spottiswoode, 1894. (C. 7548.)
 6. *Der Eintritt Japans in das Europäische Völkerrecht.* By Alexander Freiherr von Siebold. Berlin: Kiseki Tamai, 1900. (English translation. Kegan Paul, 1901).
 7. *Things Japanese.* By Basil Hall Chamberlain. Fourth edition. London: Murray, 1902.
 8. *Okoubo.* By Maurice Courant. Paris: F. Alcan, 1904.
 9. *Japan and China. Their History, Arts, and Literature.* By Captain F. Brinkley. London and Edinburgh: Jack, 1903-4.
- And other works.

MUCH as has been written about the art, the commerce and industry, the habits and social life of Japan, hardly sufficient attention has hitherto been bestowed, at least in this country, upon its political development. Even Captain Brinkley's great work, admirable as it is in many respects, is distinctly defective on this side. Yet it is on the political changes, which, in the short space of little more than one generation, transformed Japan from an oriental despotism to a constitutional state—on the Japanese Revolution, in short—that the present commanding position of Japan depends. In the following pages an attempt will be made to present this instructive

episode of modern history in an intelligible and connected form.*

Several efforts had been made to penetrate the barriers erected against foreign intercourse by the Shoguns of the Tokugawa family since their elevation to power early in the seventeenth century; but until just fifty years ago these attempts had all been made in vain. During the century which witnessed the Reformation in Europe, Japan was neither exclusive nor intolerant; and Western religion, hand in hand with Western trade, had obtained what seemed to be a firm footing in these islands of the Far East. But religion, in those days, was too often used as the wedge of empire; and the restless ambitions of the Jesuit missionaries alarmed the rulers, who had but recently built up their power on the basis of internal unity and domestic peace. To close the way to conquests like those of Mexico and Peru, they resolved to shut their doors on all foreigners alike. Traders and teachers were driven out; Christianity was violently suppressed, and, for upwards of two centuries, the little Dutch factory, imprisoned in the islet of Deshima, was all that reminded Japan of the existence of the Western world.

With the visits of the American Commodore Perry, in 1853-4, and the commercial treaties which followed, this state of things came to an end. We need not trace the steps by which, during the comparatively short space of fifteen years, the admission of foreigners to the Japanese Empire was brought about, beyond noting the fact—a most important one, as will appear—that the treaties which admitted them were made, not by or with the legitimate sovereign of Japan, the Mikado or Emperor, but by and with the actual ruler, the Shogun. But the opening of Japanese ports to foreign trade was not the most important result which ensued from the visits of Commodore Perry and his successors. The whole social

* It should be stated at the outset that this article makes no pretence to draw on works in the Japanese language; but it is believed that such few Japanese works of authority as have not yet been translated have been practically exhausted by one European writer or another. So far, there is an almost entire lack of memoirs or other records by the principal actors in the Revolution. Unless such works are in existence, and some day see the light, it is to be feared that a history of the Revolution, at once complete and trustworthy, will never be written.

and political system of the island Empire was profoundly modified; and the Japanese nation entered upon an astounding course of development, as radical as it has been rapid, the far-reaching effects of which the world at large is only now beginning to comprehend. The Japanese Revolution, of which the first act was accomplished in 1868, may be regarded as unique in history, perhaps in its results, certainly in its nature; for it was, in the main, by a voluntary act of abdication, inspired by an enlightened feeling of patriotism, that the ancient feudal system of Japan was abolished; and the ruling classes, which for centuries had held undisputed sway, resigned their powers into the hands of the sovereign in order that the country, by becoming united and centralised, might be enabled to hold its own in the face of the world.

For some time previously the ideas of thoughtful men in Japan had been tending in this direction. Several causes contributed to this change. The first of these was the revival of learning. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed in Japan a great growth of intellectual activity. Learning was encouraged by the Tokugawa Shoguns, unconscious of its future results. Iyeyasu himself, the founder of the line, and his grandson, Mitsukuni, were great patrons of literature. The study of national history was actively pursued. In 1715 Komon, Prince of Mito, had completed, with the help of a band of scholars, the famous 'Dai-Nihon-Shi,' or History of Japan. This work was not printed till 1751; but many copies of it passed from hand to hand, and gradually permeated the thought of the country. Its chief result was to bring to light the true nature of the Shogunate, to show that the Mikado was the legitimate sovereign, and to prove the power of the Shogun to be an usurpation. Its influence was such that its composer has been styled by Sir Ernest Satow, 'the real author of the movement which culminated in the Revolution of 1868.' Half a century later the great scholar, Rai Sanyo, in his 'Nihon-quai-shi,' developed and drove home these lessons; and in his 'Sei-ki,' or political history, attacked the Shogunate and deplored the decadence of Imperial power.

The growth of learning was accompanied by a revival of the ancient Shinto religion, which, as involving the

worship or at least the veneration of ancestors, was closely connected with respect for the divinely descended Imperial family. Buddhism, introduced into Japan in the sixth century of our era, had gradually pushed aside the earlier faith, and, favoured by the Shoguns of the Tokugawa race, had become a sort of State religion. The establishment of the Shogunate, in alliance with the Buddhist priesthood, was accompanied by the forcible extinction of Christianity and the decay of Confucianism; and, since the early part of the seventeenth century, Buddhism had reigned supreme. Now, however, with the revival of learning and the growing attachment to the Imperial family, Buddhism rapidly lost ground; men reverted to the creed of their ancestors; and the restoration of the Mikado to power was signalised by the complete dethronement of the Buddhistic religion.

Personal and family ambition added force to these more general and popular motives. Several of the greater noble families, originally of equal rank with that of the Tokugawa Shoguns, resented, more and more, the concentration of power in the hands of their former rivals. The only chance of recovering their lost influence in the State was to set up another power against that of the Shogun; and this power could only be that of the Mikado. The feudal system had resulted in the elevation of a subordinate to independent control; the mere overthrow of that subordinate, without the provision of an efficient substitute, would have meant disunion, anarchy, and consequent national weakness. The revival of Imperialism offered the only satisfactory solution of these difficulties.

Meanwhile the Shogunate itself was experiencing a natural decay similar to that which had undermined the power of the Mikado. The theory established by Iyeyasu was that the Mikado, being of divine descent and therefore unable to do wrong, could do nothing at all. He was shorn of all executive authority, which fell entirely into the hands of the Shoguns. But after the lapse of some two centuries the Shoguns, like the Emperors whom they had displaced, withdrew more and more from the active exercise of authority, and gave up the control to their subordinates. As they had become practically independent of the sovereign, so the great Daimios gradually became

independent of his representative. Justice was neglected. The finances fell into confusion. Certain Shoguns, notably Iyenari (1787-1837), wasted their substance in profuse display. The population increased; privation and its consequence, political discontent, began to be felt. Bands of masterless and therefore lawless Samurai, called ronin, wandered about the country; and the anarchy which Iyeyasu and Iyemitsu had sternly suppressed again raised its head. Nevertheless, impervious to new ideas and roused by no danger from abroad, these princes slumbered on, believing their power to be eternal, while in fact it was slipping from their hands.

But it was the new conditions which arose in the middle of the nineteenth century, above all, the question of foreign relations, which combined the great majority of the influential classes in one overpowering movement, and gave a deathblow to the power of the Shogun. Animated at first by an instinctive repulsion for the foreigner, the opponents of the Shogun seized upon his foreign proclivities as the point of attack, and declared his assumption of the right to make treaties with the Western Powers a treasonable usurpation. Subsequently comprehending that, however unconstitutional the action of the Shogun might have been, his foreign policy was, from the national point of view, not only enlightened but inevitable, the leaders of opinion, with the young Mikado at their head, adopted a new attitude towards the foreigner, and welcomed the influences which they had formerly repelled. But, seeing that these influences would, if passively accepted, be destructive of national individuality and even of national independence, they immediately applied themselves to the reorganisation of the national forces and the introduction of a new system, military, financial, educational, legal, and economic, which would enable the country to resist Western pressure with all the methods and the science of the West. Finally, perceiving with an insight unique among Eastern peoples, the scope of the national struggle on which they were entering, and the influence of representative government on national cohesion and strength, they resolved to take the people into partnership, and, while scrupulously maintaining the vigour of the executive power, to place the nation, at least partially, in control of its own destinies. The courage, persistency, and wisdom

with which they carried out these aims have rightly won the admiration of the world.

We must pass rapidly over the events which preceded the fall of the Shogunate in 1867. The early treaties with the United States and with the European Powers had been the work of the Shogun Iyesada (who had succeeded to power in the winter of 1853-4), or at least of his advisers—for the Shogun himself appears to have been of feeble intellect. The Court of Yedo was sufficiently acquainted with the outer world to know that it was hopeless, in the existing conditions of Japan, to reject the advances of the foreigner. The Imperial Court at Kioto, still secluded and ill-informed, resented this intrusion, and declined to countenance the measures of the Shogun. The country was speedily divided into two factions—the Jo-i party, which demanded exclusion, and the Kai-Koku, or party of admission. The exclusive party a little later developed differences of opinion; one section, at the head of which stood the Prince of Satsuma, adopted moderate views and a more or less Fabian policy; while the other, led by the Prince of Choshiu (or Nagato), was extremist, and demanded immediate and violent measures against the barbarian intruders. In this conjuncture all depended on the attitude to be adopted by the great feudal lords, hitherto supporters of the Shogun, but unwillingly bending under his yoke. How far these leaders understood the situation, or foresaw what was to come, existing evidence does not permit us to say. But it is clear that they perceived in the foreign complications and in the concessions of the Yedo Government an opportunity of overthrowing the Shogun and recovering dominant influence in the State. In this attempt they were aided not only by the nobles attached to the Court of Kioto, and hitherto rigorously excluded from power, but by the general body of *literati*, who enthusiastically demanded the restoration of the Mikado and the revival of antique Japan.

The mental and physical weakness of the Shogun Iyesada added to the complications of the time. As he had no child, it became necessary to provide an heir. A violent dispute broke out on this point; and the Shogun was constrained to place the conduct of affairs in the hands of Ii Kamon-no-Kami, chief of Kamon, who became Tairo (regent or prime minister). By his influence—for he was

a man of great force of character—the young Iyemochi, of the Tokugawa family, was nominated heir to the Shogunate, in the face of strong opposition from most of the leading Daimios, who supported the claim of Yoshinobu Hitotosubashi (generally called Keiki), son of the Prince of Mito. On Iyesada's death, in August 1858, Iyemochi succeeded; but his power was from the outset impaired by the quarrel about his succession.

The Tairo Ii, acting in the name of the young Shogun—he was but a lad of thirteen—made strenuous efforts to secure control, going so far as to inflict severe punishment on several chiefs of the opposition, now led by Nariakiri, Prince of Mito. Passions ran high; private resentment and family feuds mingled with political principles; and the detested foreigner was at the gates, while the country was torn by intestine strife. If it be true that the development of the French Revolution was altered and violence introduced by ill-timed foreign intervention, it is equally true that the Japanese Revolution would have run a very different course—if, indeed, it had ever occurred at all—but for the pressure which danger from abroad exercised on both parties in the State. The first result of this foreign pressure, in Japan as in France, was an outbreak of lawlessness and violence. The feelings of the exclusive party found vent in several murderous attacks on foreigners, and in the assassination of the regent Ii (March 1860) by a band of Samurai, most of whom belonged to the following of the Prince of Mito.

The young and inexperienced Shogun was now left alone to cope with the growing difficulties of the situation. These were rendered not less but greater by the death, late in 1860, of the old Prince of Mito; for his influence, though opposed to the policy of Yedo, was, on the whole, a moderating one, and had tended to the preservation of order. On his disappearance anarchy raised its head; and the general confusion was aggravated by the divergence between the Daimios of Satsuma and Choshu. The heads of these great clans, though subsequently united, were long separated by mutual jealousy, and in their foreign policy, while pursuing the same end, pursued it by different means. Mori of Choshu advocated the strongest measures, both against the Shogun and the foreign Powers; while Shimazu Saburo of Satsuma and

his principal advisers, Saigo and Okubo, two of the most notable figures of the Revolution, were generally anxious to bring about a political readjustment based upon a reconciliation between the Mikado and the Shogun.

It was under the influence of this conciliatory spirit that, in the year 1861, a marriage was arranged between the young Shogun and the Mikado's sister, which it was hoped would tend to establish amicable relations between the two parties and enable Japan to maintain a united front against the barbarians. Such a result would have attained both the objects which the leading party at Kioto at this time had in view—the restoration of the Mikado's sovereignty, though in a limited form, and the expulsion of the foreigner. But the project of conciliation failed. Though the Shogun appeared willing to adopt the anti-foreign policy of Kioto—he went so far, indeed, as to render his conduct suspicious to the foreign residents—he quailed when it came to action, and proved incapable of adopting heartily either line. His vacillation discredited his Government and emboldened the opposition; and when, in 1862, he received an order to attend the Imperial Court at Kioto, and to confer the office of prime minister on his former rival Yoshinobu, he practically threw up the game. It may, indeed, be maintained that the Shogunate really fell, not in 1867, when the formal resignation took place, but in 1862, when Iyemochi yielded to the Imperial commands.

The influence of Yoshinobu and other imperialists, now holding office at Yedo, further enfeebled his control and forced him to make other concessions. A notable symptom of his waning power was to be found in the falling away of attendance at his Court. It had for centuries been part of the political system that the Daimios and their families should reside in Yedo for a certain part of the year. This regulation was now abolished; and the capital of the Shogun was thus deprived of the pomp and circumstance of state. The reality of power was soon to follow. In 1863 the Shogun paid his promised visit to Kioto, and was detained there for some time against his will. Meanwhile, in the temporary absence of the Prince of Satsuma, the extremist party, headed by Mori of Choshu, gained the upper hand and decreed the adoption of violent measures against the

foreigner—a policy which the Shogun, ill and deserted in his enemies' camp, was constrained to accept.

But, almost immediately afterwards, an event took place which tended, perhaps more than any other, to produce a change in the policy of Kioto. The murder of Mr Richardson,* in the autumn of 1862, by some followers of Satsuma, had led to a demand for an indemnity and for the punishment of the guilty Samurai. The demand was presented, as usual, to the Shogun, who was still regarded by the foreign Powers as the actual ruler of Japan. The Court of Yedo paid the fine, but Shimazu refused to give up his clansmen; whereupon a British squadron attacked and destroyed the forts at Kagoshima in the Satsuma country (August 1863). This event convinced the Prince of Satsuma that it was hopeless to think of war with the European Powers; and, imbued as he already was with moderate views, he now resolved to oppose the extremists with all his strength. But the Prince of Choshu, who had not enjoyed a similar experience, thought otherwise, and, in the violence of his animosity, carried out the edict already mentioned by firing upon the ships of various Powers as they passed through the Straits of Shimonoseki. The dangers of this course were obvious; the moderate party at Kioto again obtained the lead; and Mori, remaining obdurate, was banished from Court. Left alone to face the punishment which his hostility had provoked, he soon learnt by bitter experience the lesson that had already been taught to Shimazu. A composite fleet of foreign ships of war bombarded and captured the forts of Shimonoseki (September 1864); and Mori accepted the inevitable. He did not, however, recover favour at Court; and the unexpected consequences of his exile eventually proved fatal to the Shogun.

Iyemochi had paid a second visit to Kioto in the year 1864, at a time when the conciliatory influence of Satsuma prevailed. The Shogun was well received; and harmony between the two Courts seemed to be restored. At this juncture the quarrel with Choshu reached a head. Indignant at the forced withdrawal of their chief from Kioto, the retainers of Choshu demanded permission for

* The crime seems to have had no political motive, but was due to an ignorant violation of Japanese etiquette on the part of the foreigners.

him to return. Being refused, they attacked the capital, but were defeated. The Mikado thereupon issued an edict deposing the Prince of Choshu, and bidding the Shogun to carry out his command by force of arms. Attacked at the same moment by the foreign ships, the clan leaders gave way for the moment; but subsequently, the warlike party among them getting the upper hand, they raised the standard of rebellion and openly defied the Shogun. In this crisis the attitude of the Satsuma clan determined the issue. Had its leaders joined the Shogun, Choshu must have been crushed, and the prestige of the Shogun would have been revived. But such an outcome would not have suited Shimazu and Saigo, whose policy aimed at the reduction, if not at the abolition, of the Shogunate. Satsuma, therefore, stood aloof; and the result was that Iyemochi's forces, led by himself in person, suffered a disastrous defeat.

Already his position had become so intolerable that he had attempted to resign. While the earlier operations against Choshu were impending, the foreign representatives, headed by Sir Harry Parkes, had put forward a demand for a reduction of the import duties, and for the immediate opening of new treaty ports at Hiogo and Osaka. The demand was supported by the appearance of a strong naval force off Hiogo in November 1866. The Shogun, unable to resist the pressure, gave way, but subsequently found that he could not obtain the Mikado's consent. The mere fact that his consent was now requested, and refused, shows how far things had travelled during the decade since the earlier treaties were made by 'His Sovereign Majesty the Tycoon.' Reverting for a moment to the anti-foreign policy from which the counsels of Satsuma and the force of events were gradually weaning it, the Imperial Government suddenly turned against the Shogun, repudiated his treaties, and even dismissed his ministers. The insult broke the spirit of Iyemochi; but he was in no position to retaliate; he humbly offered to resign. The time was, however, not quite ripe. His offer was declined; the treaty was even ratified; but the incident showed that the end of the Shogunate was near.

Soon after these disastrous occurrences the Shogun Iyemochi died (Sept. 1866), worn out in early youth by illness and distress. His successor was that Yoshinobu (commonly called Keiki who had been Iyemochi's rival

ten years before. He was the last of the Shoguns. His accession nearly coincided with the death (January 1867) of the Emperor Komei, and the advent of the present Emperor, Mutushito, to power. It is not to be supposed that the new Mikado, a boy of fifteen, exercised as yet any influence in the State; but the change of sovereign undoubtedly facilitated the completion of the revolution which had been gradually creeping over the policy of Kioto. The Jo-i party, the exclusives, though not extinct, had fallen quite into the background. New men were coming forward. Ito, Inouye, and Kido, members of the Choshu clan; Okubo Toshimitsu and Saigo Takamori, both of Satsuma; Okuma and Itagaki, and others of the progressive party, were making their influence felt. Most of the great feudatories—Shimazu, Mori, Yodo of Tosa, and others—had been converted; Iwakura and Sanjo had brought over the Court nobles. These men accepted the inevitable, resolving to turn the foreigner to account if they could not expel him; and progress on new lines became the order of the day. It is true that great changes had yet to pass over public opinion, and much had to be learnt by bitter experience before Japan worked out her salvation; but a beginning had been made, and the spirit to learn was there. The strong men who ruled at Kioto were at least united in their determination to restore the authority of the Mikado, and they were now in a position to combine this restoration with a welcome to the foreigner.

Yoshinobu had succeeded to an office which no longer possessed either significance or power. There was nothing left for him but to follow the example already set by his predecessor, and to resign. Several reasons combined to force this step upon him. Satsuma was now in secret alliance with Choshu; the rebellious chief was pardoned, and the expedition against him abandoned; and the Shogun was thus compelled to accept defeat at the hands of his former vassal. Among the greater Daimios he had none on whom he could rely. On the other hand, the foreign policy with which his office had been identified for thirteen years was now, as it appeared, accepted by his sovereign; the foreign Powers had therefore no longer any reason to countenance the dual system on which the Shogunate reposed. The position had thus become untenable; and on October 14, 1867, under pressure from

the Prince of Tosa, acting in conjunction with other great lords, Yoshinobu resigned into the hands of his sovereign the powers which the family of Tokugawa had enjoyed for more than two hundred and fifty years. His only stipulations were that the unity of the government should be maintained, and that an assembly of Daimios should meet to consider the political changes necessitated by his effacement. The Shogun's resignation was formally accepted by the Mikado, in a decree issued two months later, in which it was simply stated that 'It has pleased the Emperor to dismiss the present Shogun, at his own request, from office.' Thus the first stage in the Japanese Revolution was accomplished; and the era of Meiji—the era of 'enlightened rule'—began with the year 1868.

But, before the new system was able to establish itself on a firm basis, it became clear that the Revolution would not be allowed to take place unopposed. The Shogun, while renouncing his claim to equality with the sovereign, seems to have had no intention to strip himself of all his prerogatives, or, in particular, to surrender his wide territorial authority, based partly on usurpation and Imperial grants, partly on ancient feudal right, which he shared with other great Daimios of the State. Moreover, his many followers, whose fortunes were linked with those of their chief, deeply resented his degradation and the transfer of power to those who had been once his rivals and recently his subordinates. His resistance to such degradation was foreseen by his opponents, who acted without hesitation. On January 3, 1868, a *coup d'état* was carried out, by which the Lords of Satsuma, Tosa, Hizen, and others of their party, made themselves masters of the palace and, with it, of the person of the young sovereign. Acting by his authority, they straightway established a provisional government, and ordered the ex-Shogun to surrender his fiefs, and submit entirely to the Emperor. It appears that some at least of his opponents formed a secret plan for his personal destruction. Thereupon the ex-Shogun retired humbly from Kyoto, and withdrew to his castle of Osaka. Under the influence of friendly negotiators he was on the point of yielding, when a violent outbreak between his followers and those of Satsuma forced his hand, and drove him to take up a hostile attitude towards the new government.

In the civil war which followed the troops of the Shogun were repeatedly defeated. Driven back upon his ancient capital of Yedo, and besieged by an overpowering force, the Shogun made overtures for surrender. His offer was amicably received, and the surrender took place. Severe punishment was dealt out to Yoshinobu's supporters, but the Shogun himself was pardoned. Stripped of office and of his hereditary dignities, he retired into private life, receiving a grant of lands sufficient for his maintenance, but not such as to endanger the quiet of the State (May 1868). The resistance of his supporters, however, was not yet quelled. The keen sense of honour which animated the Japanese Samurai prevented them from yielding, even when they had lost their chief. When the Shogun shut himself up in Yedo, the bulk of his followers withdrew into more remote districts and there continued a fruitless struggle. At Hakodate they even attempted to establish an independent republic. It was not till the summer of 1869 that the revolt was put down. Large confiscations followed; and the Mikado's authority was recognised throughout Japan.

Meanwhile the assembly of Daimios, stipulated for by the Shogun at the time of his resignation, had met; and a form of government was established. At the head of the government a Council of State was instituted under the presidency of a chancellor and two vice-chancellors. Several administrative departments were created for the control of the Imperial household, religion, foreign affairs, finance, army and navy, education, justice, etc. At the head of each of these stood a departmental chief or minister. The Council of State consisted of influential men, mostly leaders of the reform party—Saigo of Satsuma, Kido of Choshu, Itagaki of Tosa, Okuma of Hizen, and others. Prince Sanjo was the first chancellor; Iwakura Tomomi, representing the Court nobility, was one vice-chancellor; the other was the feudal Prince of Satsuma.* At first the Council of State was separate from the council of ministers or heads

* It is said that this dual arrangement was made to appease Shimazu, whose annoyance at the apparent neglect of his clan threatened to upset the new system. In consequence of a similar feeling elsewhere, the ministry was soon afterwards reconstituted so as to give equal representation to the four great clans of Satsuma, Choshu, Hizen, and Tosa.

of departments; but this arrangement, subject to obvious inconveniences, was subsequently dropped (1885), and the two councils were fused into one body, closely resembling a Western cabinet.

At the same time the Mikado's Government had formally adopted the foreign policy of the rival whom it had supplanted. The necessity of taking this step was partially recognised in the creation of a department of foreign affairs already mentioned. Shortly afterwards a notable memorial was presented to the Government by a number of high officers of State, in which, after bidding the rulers of Japan to take warning from the fate of China, the memorialists urged the necessity of learning from the hitherto despised barbarians all that they could teach, so as to secure the safety and independence of the State.

'In order to restore the fallen fortunes of the Empire and to make the Imperial dignity respected abroad, it is necessary to take a firm resolution, and to get rid of the narrow-minded ideas which have prevailed hitherto. . . . Let the foolish argument which has hitherto styled foreigners, dogs and goats and barbarians be abandoned; let the Court ceremonies, hitherto imitated from the Chinese, be reformed; and let the foreign representatives be bidden to Court in the manner prescribed by the rules current amongst all nations.' (Iyenaga.)

It was on this advice that the Mikado acted in personally receiving Sir Harry Parkes and other foreign representatives in March 1868.

But the advice of these bold and far-seeing statesmen went beyond the reception of foreign envoys and the opening of trade. It aimed at wide domestic reforms.

'The most important duty' (they declared) 'that we have at present is for high and low to unite harmoniously in understanding the condition of the age, in effecting a national reformation, and commencing a great work. . . . By travelling to foreign countries and observing what good there is in them, and by comparing their daily progress, the universality of enlightened government, the sufficiency of military defences and of abundant food for the people, with our present condition, the causes of prosperity and degeneracy may be plainly traced.' (Iyenaga, 'Constit. Development of Japan.')

In this enlightened spirit the statesmen of Japan set to work and inaugurated an era of reform.

One of the first steps was to sweep away the abuses of the Imperial Court and to put an end to the obscurantist influences which had hitherto kept the Emperor in sloth and impotent seclusion. With this object the long-standing distinction between the Court nobility and the feudal chiefs—an invention of the Tokugawas—was abolished. With a similar intention the Court was removed from Kioto to Yedo, which henceforth, under the name of Tokio, was to be the capital of the country. Accompanied as it was by public appearances of the sovereign before the eyes of his astonished people, this change—carried out, it would appear, on the special advice of Okubo Toshimitsu—made it clear to all that the substitution of the Mikado for the Shogun as a visible and actual head was to be no mere change of persons, but the symptom of far-reaching reform.

What was in prospect was more clearly indicated by the solemn oath which was taken by the restored sovereign before the assembly of Daimios, in the second year of the Meiji period (April 1869). This oath promised the creation of a deliberative assembly for the discussion of public affairs, the security of personal freedom, the abolition of evil customs, and the adoption of a new system, including measures of national defence, based on careful study and the experience of foreign nations. A deliberative assembly, the Kogisho, was soon afterwards called into being. It met in April 1869. In its composition it more closely resembled a French assembly of notables under the *ancien régime* than a parliament of the modern kind. Its members were mostly retainers of the great Daimios; for there was as yet no machinery for popular election, nor is it likely that, in these early stages of the Revolution, the Samurai would have consented to meet their inferiors, the trading classes, in council. Feudal feeling was still strong, and the feudal system was in full force in most parts of the country. It was therefore not to be expected that the Kogisho should display much independence or originality; but it met, and deliberated, and thus paved the way for the advent of a more popular assembly; while the combination of representatives from many clans tended to substitute a sense of nationality for the disintegrating influences of the clan spirit.

In one respect, at all events, the Kogisho, if it did not exercise any very potent influence on political development, testified to a great change of feeling, and familiarised the important class of the Samurai with the idea of a great reform. The Kogisho, an assembly of feudal vassals, discussed the abolition of feudalism. Its president, Prince Akidzuki, presented a memorial in which, after pointing to the revolt of the Tokugawa party, not yet suppressed, as an example of the evils arising from the present state of things, he urged the great lords to 'restore the territories which they have received from the Emperor, and to return to a constitutional and undivided country.' 'Let them' (he continued) 'abandon their titles . . . and call themselves officers of the Emperor, receiving property equal to that which they have hitherto held.' In other words, feudal dignities and powers were to be surrendered, but the rights of property were to be respected.

A first attempt at reforming the local administration brought to light the disadvantages and even dangers of the existing system. The different provinces of the Empire were divided (1869) for the purposes of administration into smaller districts, called Fu, Ken, and Han. The two former classes were ruled by Imperial officers, the last-named by officials appointed by the great Daimios in virtue of ancient feudal authority. There were eighteen of these great nobles, called Kokushu, who were practically independent within their provinces. Below them, a second class of nobles, called Tozama, possessed theoretically the same rights as the Kokushu, but practically, for the most part, were not strong enough to emancipate themselves in similar fashion. A third noble class, the Fudai, consisted of immediate vassals of the Tokugawa family—quasi-nobles through personal service to the Shogun. The great lords exercised, within their districts, full rights of jurisdiction and administration. Some even possessed the right of coining money. They were personally invested with these rights by writ of the Shogun until his abdication in 1867.

Out of more than three hundred districts, those directly subject to Imperial authority numbered less than fifty. Out of the total public revenue raised from these districts only about one sixth passed into the

Imperial exchequer. The scanty resources of the Government naturally proved inadequate to the strain already placed upon them; and the voluntary contributions of the nobles afforded but an insufficient and precarious relief. Such a situation, it was clear, could not long continue.

In this dilemma two distinguished members of the Samurai class came forward with a radical proposal. Kido Takatoto, a retainer of Choshu, and Okubo Toshimitsu, of the Satsuma clan, persuaded their respective chiefs to unite in a great measure of self-abnegation, and, as they had forced the Shogun to surrender his powers to the Mikado, so to follow his example by yielding up their feudal rights. The Lords of Hizen, Kago, and Tosa joined with those of Satsuma and Choshu; and these great nobles, with some other Daimios, laid their ancestral privileges at the foot of the throne. It was the '4th of August' of the Japanese Revolution; but the rights surrendered by the Japanese nobles went far beyond those abandoned in that famous sitting at Versailles.

In the memorial with which the Daimios accompanied their gift, after confessing that their feudal rights, like the power of the Shoguns, originated for the most part in force or usurpation, they proceeded:—

'The country where we live is the Emperor's land; the food which we eat is grown by the Emperor's men. How can we make it our own? We now reverently offer up the lists of our possessions and men, with the prayer that the Emperor will take good measures for rewarding those to whom reward is due, and for taking from those to whom punishment is due. Let the Imperial orders be issued for altering and remodelling the territories of the various clans. Let the civil and penal codes, the military laws . . . all proceed from the Emperor. Let all the affairs of the Empire, great and small, be referred to him.' (Iyenaga.)

The example of the leading Daimios was soon followed by most of the lesser men; and in July 1871 the era of feudalism, which had lasted for over eight centuries in Japan, was brought to a close by a laconic Imperial decree in the words: 'The clans are abolished; and prefectures are established in their place.' The Han (feudal districts) were reduced in number and remodelled

so as to bring them into harmony with the Fu and Ken. The feudal lords were at first retained in their position as governors, but subject to Imperial control. One tenth of the revenue arising from their former fiefs was apportioned to the governors in the form of salaries; the rest passed into the Imperial treasury. Their retainers, the old Samurai, received the honourable title of Shizoku, with pensions more or less befitting their rank. Subsequently the feudal governors handed over their functions to Imperial officials, receiving annuities in lieu of their salaries; and the pensions of the Samurai were commuted (1873).^{*} Nothing, probably, in the whole course of this remarkable Revolution is more striking than the unselfish patriotism which led the bulk of these men—there were four hundred thousand of them—warriors by birth and tradition, sensitive to anything like dishonour, to give up their swords and their class privileges and to become ordinary citizens. The nobles retained high positions and ample incomes; but their retainers surrendered almost all that hitherto had seemed to make life worth living.

The abolition of feudalism completed the second stage in the Revolution. One of the first measures which resulted from it was the emancipation of the peasants. Before the restoration the peasant had been merely a tenant of the land which he tilled. To the feudal lord he did suit and service, performed onerous tasks, and paid taxes limited merely by the goodwill of his superior or the length of his own purse. By a series of laws passed between 1868 and 1874 the peasant was freed from these oppressive ties, without compensation to his landlord, and became absolute owner of his former tenancy. Instead of the feudal dues a land-tax was now levied, which, though by no means light, was a sensible alleviation in comparison with the burdens that the peasantry had hitherto endured.

The next step consisted in the remodelling of the military system. Hitherto the duty and distinction of military service had belonged to the Samurai alone. It

^{*} The money required for this purpose was provided by a loan of 1,000,000*l.* raised in England.

was obvious that, if the abolition of feudalism were to be more than an empty phrase, military power must pass into the hands of the State; while it was equally clear that the old system was inadequate to provide satisfactorily for the national defence. Accordingly the duty of universal military service was laid upon all classes of the nation alike (December 28, 1872), the army being divided, in the German fashion, into troops of the line, a reserve or *Landwehr*, and a national levy or *Landsturm*. Military service begins at the age of twenty. Three years are passed under the flag, four years in the reserve; while all men capable of bearing arms between the ages of seventeen and forty are liable to be called out in time of national danger. The national forces were placed on a modern basis, and were drilled and organised according to European methods.* European officers were imported for this purpose; but, as was also the case in their universities, the Japanese had no sooner mastered the military science of the West than they dispensed with such foreign assistance. The feudal fortresses were, for the most part, dismantled; the rest passed into the hands of the State. Two separate departments for the army and the navy were created. Dockyards and arsenals were established, together with colleges for instruction in the art of war. The supreme command of the national forces was declared to reside in the sovereign alone.

While the military forces of the country were thus being Europeanised, the greatest activity was displayed in the introduction of all that machinery of Western civilisation which tends to strengthen, unite, and enrich the State. In 1870 the first railroad in Japan, that between Tokio and Yokohama, was commenced. It was opened in 1872. Hiogo and Kioto were next united; then Kioto and Otsu. The progress of railways was slow at first: ten years after their commencement they only attained a total of 78 miles. But with the increasing wealth of the country the pace quickened. In 1881 the railway system had grown to 1200 miles; and at the end of the last century it reached the astonishing total of 3640 miles. Steamers also multiplied rapidly, those of

* The present organisation of the army rests upon an Imperial order issued in 1896, the execution of which was completed in the next five years.

foreign build being quintupled in number between 1870 and 1878. Japanese steamship companies were also established in and after 1875.

A system of telegraphs was commenced so early as 1868, and made rapid progress. At the outset the people cut down the telegraph poles; but within ten years all the important towns had telegraphic communication with each other; and in 1879 Japan joined the International Telegraph Convention and thus linked herself telegraphically with the outer world. The postal system followed a similar course. A general postal service was established immediately after the Restoration on the basis of an equal charge for any distance; and so early as 1877 Japan entered the International Postal Convention. In these circumstances trade and industry made great advances. A bourse and a chamber of commerce were established at Tokio in 1878. The total of imports and exports increased from about 3,500,000*l.* in 1869 to 6,500,000*l.* in 1879. By the end of the century it had grown to over 50,000,000*l.**

Education was at the same time stimulated and organised. Colleges of an academic type had been established at Yedo (now Tokio) in 1857, under the government of the Shogun, for the study of foreign languages and science. In 1858 a school of European medicine was founded. The Imperial Government took over the patronage of these institutions and gradually created out of them the present flourishing University of Tokio. Another university was subsequently founded in Kioto. The professors in these colleges were at first largely foreign; the scholars showed an almost excessive ardour for imbibing the learning of the West. It was when students at college that the two friends Ito and Inouye smuggled themselves on board a homeward-bound ship, and thus, as Mr Chamberlain says, 'entered on the career which led them at last to preside over the destinies of their country.' Nor was elementary education neglected. In 1871 the Ministry of Education was reorganised, and began to make its beneficent activity felt all over the country. Schools spread rapidly; and during the twelve years following on the overthrow of feudalism the public

* Reckoning the yen at two shillings.

and private schools increased to some 30,000, with upwards of 97,000 teachers and about 3,300,000 pupils. In 1884 the study of English began to form part of the curriculum of the public schools.

The social and political influence of these schools was incalculable. Not only did they instil a new idea of the State, and of the duties and responsibilities of the citizen, but they exercised a levelling tendency. They helped to eradicate the prejudices of class and to obliterate the social distinctions which had hitherto split up the community. The superiority of the Daimios and the Samurai was undermined; and, if it be too much to say that noble, tradesman, and peasant were placed on an equality, at least an avenue was opened by which the humblest lad might hope to reach a dignified position. A sort of democracy of letters and education was substituted for aristocracy and privilege. Individual teachers, such as Fukuzawa, inculcated democratic maxims and taught that 'government exists for the people, not the people for the government'; and in this progressive country they were allowed to teach. 'The Ministry of Education and the system of universal military service,' says Von Siebold, 'have, between them, contributed more than any other institutions to weld Japan into a political whole.'

Closely connected with the spread of education were the changes in religious policy which followed on the Restoration. The former intolerant attitude was gradually abandoned. Buddhism lost its privileged position. The possessions of the temples were secularised; the financial support of the State was withdrawn; the temples fell into ruin; and the priests wandered about in poverty. Shintoism again became fashionable, but was not allowed to claim exclusive rights. In 1876 the Ministry of Public Worship, established after the Restoration, was abolished; and religious freedom was eventually adopted as a principle of state in the Constitution of 1890. The growing enlightenment both of the authorities and the people showed itself in the practice of vaccination, and the introduction of the European calendar (1873). Of still greater importance for the political education of the masses was the rapid spread of newspapers, first sanctioned in 1869. Within thirteen years of that date their numbers had attained to over 100, with a total

circulation of some 350,000. Books and translations from foreign works were published in constantly increasing quantity.

It is not surprising that these rapid and sweeping changes should have led to a demand for the extension of political rights and for some form of constitutional government, vaguely promised by the Emperor in his famous oath of April 1869. A powerful impulse in this direction was given by the reports of the commission or embassy sent to Europe shortly after the overthrow of feudalism (1871). This commission was presided over by Iwakura Tomomi, who was accompanied by four statesmen, Kido Takakoto, Okubo Toshimitsu, Ito Hirobumi, and Yamaguchi Naoyoshi, all of whom held high offices of state and had been active in the cause of reform. They were attended by a large staff of secretaries from the various departments of the ministry. The ostensible object of this embassy was to announce and explain to foreign governments the changes that had taken place, and to endeavour to obtain a revision of the treaties which placed Japan in a sort of tutelage under the European Powers. But their still more important function was to collect information about European institutions, laws, and methods of government, and to examine, at first hand, the working of the state-machine in the most enlightened countries of the West.

A revision of the treaties proved as yet impracticable; and many years were to elapse before Japan freed herself from the bonds which her weakness had allowed foreign nations to impose. But the results of the embassy upon the internal progress of Japan were immense. Some of the envoys, like Ito, had already adopted, from personal acquaintance with Europe and Europeans, a belief in representative government; others became convinced of its superiority through their visit to the West. But, while willing to free the people, they shrank from giving it supreme control. They refused to copy slavishly the institutions of any State. From those of England, France, Germany, and the United States they culled what they thought likely to be beneficial to their own country; they took time to consider; and they produced eventually, in the Constitution of 1890, a system which, though not

without defects, aims, and so far has aimed successfully, at combining popular influence with centralised control, efficiency with public discussion, power with liberty.

But to speak of this is to anticipate events. Much was yet to happen before the ideals of Okubo and Ito and their friends could be realised. It was not to be expected that all the former possessors of power or influence should look with favour on a revolution which deprived them of their privileges and merged them in the masses of their fellow-countrymen. It is true that most of the leaders in the Revolution belonged to the ranks of the Samurai, and that some of these men had risen to the highest positions in the State. But the bulk of this formerly influential class could not expect equal good fortune; and to them the Revolution meant social degradation and the loss of political prestige. To these sentimental sources of discontent were added others of a material nature. Many of the Samurai, deprived of their monopoly in the calling of arms and cut off from their adherence to their former chiefs, took to agriculture or commercial pursuits. Unaccustomed to the methods of business, they wasted their savings and the funds produced by the commutation of their pensions, and, thus cast adrift in poverty and distress, were exposed to the ridicule of the commercial and industrial classes, whom in better days they had despised. They naturally fell back on their ancient ways, became disturbers of the public peace, and sought to recover by force of arms what they had lost by policy. A lawless class of swashbucklers—the ronin or masterless Samurai—had long existed; and their numbers were now largely increased by the break-up of the old order, till they became a serious danger to society and the State.

Moreover, among the leaders themselves threatening dissensions arose. Such dissensions had, as we have seen, been rife before the Revolution took place; the rapid progress of events since 1868 brought forward new causes of divergence. To what extent personal jealousies and political disputes contributed, respectively, to the troubles of 1874-77 it is difficult, from the want of published evidence, to say. But about the earlier of these dates a question of foreign policy occurred which brought them to a head.

The Korean difficulty had already emerged. The

connexion of Japan with Korea had always been intimate. Through Korea Japan had imbibed from China arts, letters, and religion. The importance of Japanese influence in Korea, as an area of commercial expansion and a source of food-supply, was already apparent to the minds of Japanese statesmen. Moreover, the southward advance of Russia had begun to inspire alarm. The Crimean War, which synchronised with the visit of Commodore Perry to Japan, had forced Russia to seek compensation in the Far East. The Amur was found to supply a useful means of communication with the Pacific; and the Anglo-French expeditions of 1857-60 enabled Russia to pose as the friend of China, and to extort from her the treaty of Aigun, by which the eastern coast of Manchuria down to the northern boundary of Korea, and including the harbour of Vladivostok, was ceded to Russia. That Power soon settled itself firmly in the ceded districts; and a year later a Russian ship attempted the annexation of the island of Tsushima, commanding the Straits of Korea, but was warned off by the British admiral commanding in those parts.

Nor was this the only threatening line of Russian advance. Half a century earlier the Russians had begun to lay hands on the island of Saghalien, which extends for a great distance along the eastern coast of Manchuria. The island was claimed by the Japanese, who had fishing colonies there; and collisions with the Russians took place. The Russians advanced even as far south as the island of Yezo, and plundered villages there in 1806. Then, for some time, nothing more was heard of Saghalien; but nearly half a century later the cessions to Russia on the Amur brought forward the question again. An attempt was now made to divide the island by an imaginary line drawn along the parallel of the fiftieth degree of latitude. But it was soon found that the Russian colonies had extended far south of that line; and, though the disturbed state of Japan for a time prevented the Japanese from opening negotiations on the subject, it was determined, when in 1867 political matters had to some extent quieted down, to send a mission to St Petersburg to bring about a more satisfactory arrangement. The course of the negotiations was instructive. When the envoys produced their copy

of the treaty of 1862, by which the island was divided between the two Powers, the Russians feigned ignorance of it, and offered certain of the Kurile islands in exchange for the whole of Saghalien. To this the Japanese objected on the ground that the Kurile islands belonged to Japan; and it was finally arranged that the subjects of the two Powers should occupy Saghalien in common; which meant, as the Japanese subsequently found out, its complete occupation by Russia. The arrangement offered by Russia had to be accepted a few years later; and Japan recognised Russia's right to Saghalien, in consideration of the recognition by that Power of the Japanese claim to the Kurile islands (1875).

Two years before this date the Iwakura embassy had returned from Europe, deeply impressed by the power and activity of the Western world, and especially by the aggressive designs of Russia. A memorandum drawn up by Okubo Toshimitsu declared that 'Russia, always pressing southwards, is the chief peril' for Japan. It is not surprising, then, that the safeguarding of Japanese interests in Korea became the first aim of Japanese policy. But as to the best way of gaining this end a grave difference of opinion manifested itself. A strong party in the Government urged immediate war; and plans for the conquest of Korea were formed in 1873. But the majority of the ministry displayed that spirit of caution and self-restraint which, combined with singular audacity, has recently marked the counsels of Japan. Okubo and Iwakura, clearly as they perceived the danger, perceived as clearly that, in the existing conditions of Japan, war with such a Power as Russia would be disastrous. The peace party carried the day; the struggle for Korea was deferred, as it turned out, for twenty years; and the ministerial advocates of a forward policy, Saigo Takamori, Soyeshima, Yeto Shimpei, Itagaki Taisuke, and others, resigned.

One of the first results of this schism was to give a fresh impulse to the cause of constitutional reform. So early as 1873 Itagaki had sent in a memorial to the Government praying for the establishment of a representative assembly. On his resignation he formed a political society, known as the Rishisha, which pressed his views on the nation and ultimately became the

nucleus of a powerful liberal party. The Government rejected the memorial as premature, but nevertheless made some cautious advances towards the end in view. The local governors were summoned to a conclave in Tokio, not to discuss high politics, but to advise on matters of local interest, the improvement of communications, the regulation of public meetings, and the like. In 1875 a senate, called Genro-in, composed of prominent officials and leading men, was instituted for purposes of legislation. This senate continued to sit until superseded by the full Parliament in 1890.

But the more ardent spirits were dissatisfied with the progress of affairs, rapid as it was. Others appear to have been influenced by personal motives, and saw with bitter jealousy the concentration of power in the hands of former rivals or colleagues, many of whom were 'new men,' sprung from what they regarded as an inferior class. But conservative and reactionary elements were the main factors in the disturbances that were at hand. The old feudal and clannish spirit was not dead; the old family ties were still strong; and the causes of discontent already described continued to increase. Grievous disappointment was felt by the *literati* and others who had welcomed the changes of 1868 as a step towards the long dreamt-of restoration of old Japan, now so rapidly passing away before their eyes. The learned classes, brought up in the old Chinese school, resented the introduction of the Western learning which they still despised. Meanwhile, the spread of newspapers and education, the introduction of Western inventions and institutions, and a variety of social changes, excited and disturbed the public mind. Thus, conservatives and reformers, feudalists and centralists, business men and politicians, were alike discontented, though from different motives, and anxious as to the ultimate tendency of things. The result was a general condition of agitation and unrest, which led to local disturbances and deeds of violence, and eventually culminated in a rebellion that seriously threatened the safety and cohesion of the State.

In 1874 Yeto Shimpei, formerly Minister of Justice, who had resigned office on the Korean question, retired to the district of Saga, and, gathering round him a body of his discontented followers and like-minded politicians,

raised the standard of revolt. Defeated by the local forces, the rebels crossed the sea to Kagoshima, where they hoped for assistance from Saigo Takamori. But their revolt had been premature; Saigo was not ready; and in a short time the leaders paid the penalty of their rashness with their lives.

Two years later similar outbreaks took place in Kumamoto and Hagi. In the former place the movement was distinctly reactionary; its leaders detested the new order of things. In the latter, the leader, Mayebara Issei, was a Samurai who had played a distinguished part in the Restoration. He had subsequently risen to high office, but, like Yeto Shimpei, had differed from his colleagues and resigned. In both cases the rising was suppressed without difficulty; and the leaders committed suicide or were captured and put to death. Meanwhile the Korean difficulty was settled in a peaceable manner—very annoying to the war party, but satisfactory to the Government—by a treaty which opened Korea to foreign trade (1875).

These events strengthened the hands of the Government and enabled them to meet, with experience and prestige, the far more dangerous Satsuma rebellion of 1877, which, had it coincided with, instead of following, the other revolts, might have had a different result. Saigo Takamori, who had been commander-in-chief of the army, had withdrawn, on his resignation, to Kagoshima, the capital of Satsuma, where he gradually collected a large body of malcontents, and trained them carefully in a private military school. The remoteness of his place of refuge, at the extreme south of the island of Kiushiu, facilitated this process. In Kagoshima he was joined by Kirimo Toshiaki and Shinowara Kunimoto, officers of high rank, and by warlike followers from several other prefectures; and Satsuma became a focus of militant reactionism. Alarmed at these signs of defection, the Government took precautionary measures, which hastened the outbreak. The insurgents seized the arsenal of Kagoshima; and Saigo, who appears for some time to have hesitated to take the final step, eventually put himself at the head of the rebel forces, on the pretext that it was necessary to remove the disloyal and insidious influences that surrounded the throne (February 1877). A desperate civil war ensued.

For some time success trembled in the balance. Sanguinary battles were fought; and the movement showed signs of spreading to the neighbouring provinces. The insurgents laid siege to the fortress of Kumamoto; and upon its relief the fortunes of the State appeared to depend. At this critical juncture the Government managed to dissuade Shimazu Saburo, the real chief of Satsuma, and his son Tadayoshi, from throwing in their lot with the rebels; and, aided by this division in the province, the Imperial troops were enabled to effect the relief of Kumamoto (April 14).^{*} The insurgent forces now broke up; but the struggle was maintained with great determination in various parts of the province. In July and August the chief strongholds of the rebellion were reduced, and the rebels were driven northward and hemmed in at Enotake; but, suddenly breaking out, they made a desperate dash upon Kagoshima. In that neighbourhood they were again surrounded, and were eventually overthrown, after a long and sanguinary conflict, at Shiroyama (September 24, 1877). Saigo Takamori ended his stirring and adventurous life by suicide; other chiefs fell on the field of battle; and the rebellion was finally stamped out. The struggle had been very severe, but its results were decisive. All the forces of the Empire had been called out in the effort against disunion; the expense in blood and treasure was enormous; and a heavy debt was incurred. But the new order of things had finally triumphed; henceforward the Government was secure; and though isolated outbreaks still occasionally occurred, notably the Saitama rebellion in 1884—the peace of the Empire was generally maintained, and the conflict of opinion was carried forward on constitutional lines.

It was not to be expected that, during this time of trial, much constitutional progress should have been made. The meetings of local governors were suspended for two or three years; but, when the forces of disorder were crushed, the political advance was renewed. Firm in their belief that national strength must in future

^{*} It is interesting to know that General Oku, now commanding in the Liaotung peninsula, was the officer who, as a major in command of a detachment, cut his way out of Kumamoto through the besieging force—an operation which contributed largely to the relief of the fortress.

depend on a wise trust in the people, the Emperor and his advisers showed no signs of reactionary tendencies, but held on their course of gradual reform. The murder of the great statesman, Okubo Toshimitsu (1878)—an act of vengeance perpetrated by former followers of Saigo—did not affect the progress of events. In 1878 the local governors again met—this time to discuss local taxation, the organisation of local assemblies, and other matters of political import. Edicts respecting local administration, based upon these discussions, were subsequently issued. In 1879 the important step was taken of establishing local assemblies in the prefectures and larger cities. These assemblies were representative bodies, elected by and from the people, on the basis of a wide but not unrestricted franchise.* Although their powers were confined to deliberation and petition, they formed useful channels for the discovery and organisation of public opinion, and trained the people for the responsibilities of government.

Meanwhile, Count Itagaki and his friends continued their constitutional agitation in favour of reform. In 1877 they presented a long and reasoned memorial to the sovereign, urging the Government to redeem the promise vaguely made in 1868.

'Nothing' (they said) 'could tend more to the well-being of the country than for your Majesty to put an end to all despotic and oppressive measures, and to consult public opinion in the conduct of government. To this end a representative assembly should be established, so that the government may become constitutional in form. The people would then become more interested and zealous in looking after the affairs of the country; public opinion would find expression; and despotism and confusion would cease. The nation would advance in civilisation; wealth would accumulate; internal troubles and foreign contempt would be at an end; and the happiness of your Imperial Majesty and of your Majesty's subjects would be secured.' (Iyenaga.)

Under these and other influences public opinion rapidly consolidated itself in favour of reform. The Rishisha developed into a strong and organised Liberal party, the Jiyu-to, under the leadership of Itagaki. Within the

* The property qualification for electors was the payment of 1*l.*, for members that of 2*l.* in land tax.

circle of ministers Okuma Shigenobu strongly urged the claims of the reformers to attention; and he resigned in 1881 in order to forward them more freely.* Thus pressed on all hands, and having no longer the fear of rebellion before their eyes, the Government at length gave way and took the final step, which was, for the first time in history, to convert an Oriental State into one framed on the political model of the West. On October 12, 1881, the Emperor published an edict, the essential clauses of which run as follows:—

'We have long contemplated the gradual establishment of a constitutional form of government. . . . It was with this object in view that in the eighth year of Meiji we instituted the Senate, and in the eleventh year authorised the formation of local assemblies. . . . We therefore hereby declare that, in the twenty-third year of Meiji (1890), we shall establish a Parliament in order to carry into full effect the determination we have announced; and we charge our faithful subjects bearing our commissions to make, in the meantime, all necessary preparations to that end.'

The nation, thus assured of the future, waited patiently for the realisation of its hopes. A period of comparative political repose succeeded one of storm and stress which had lasted for nearly twenty years. But progress was steadily maintained. The local assemblies continued to meet, and gave valuable assistance to the Government in regard to provincial organisation, and the difficult work of local preparation for the introduction of a parliamentary system. Their powers were finally determined by a Local Government ordinance promulgated in 1888. In 1884 the aristocracy was reorganised on a Western basis. Henceforward honours were to derive solely from the sovereign. Titles of nobility were created—princes, marquises, counts, viscounts, and barons; and a brand-new peerage, composed partly of the old feudal or Court nobles, partly of distinguished officials of humbler origin, sprang into existence.

In 1885 a change of great political importance took place. The Cabinet system was fully introduced, the heads of the various departments of State taking their

* Itagaki is called by Captain Brinkley the Rousseau, and Okuma the Peel, of Japan.

places as the supreme council of the nation, under the leadership of a Minister-President or prime minister. The departments themselves were reorganised, and a system of competitive examinations for appointments in the civil service was substituted for the earlier methods, in which caprice and favouritism prevailed. Count Ito Hirobumi, the chief promoter of these reforms, became the first Minister-President. Three years later a Privy Council was created. Its members are chosen from old and distinguished officials, and its special function is to advise the sovereign whenever he consults it. Its importance may be gauged from the fact that, on its creation, Count Ito resigned his post as Minister-President to Count Kuroda, himself becoming President of the Privy Council. The relation of this body to the Cabinet does not seem very clear, but the difficulties which might have been expected to arise have not, so far, made themselves felt.

The most important work of this period, however, consisted in the revision and codification of law, the establishment of a judicial system, and the elaboration of a written constitution. The old Japanese law, both civil and criminal, was, like most things in Japan, based upon the Chinese, but had been modified, to the detriment of the lower orders, the peasantry, and the commercial and industrial classes, by the feudal system. There was no separation between justice and administration. No distinction was drawn between civil and criminal law. The lower classes had practically no rights, but were at the mercy of their superiors. The procedure was capricious and irregular; the very law-books were secret, known only to the judges. Torture was freely applied, and punishments were very severe. For this tyrannous system—if system it could be called—was substituted, within the space of about twenty years, a series of codes, an entirely new procedure, and equality before the law.

The Ministry of Justice, when established in 1876, at once set to work on the reform of the criminal law, which had been begun by the Legislative Department created in 1868. Shortly afterwards European jurists were invited to Japan to aid in the work; and the services of a Frenchman, M. Boissonade, were specially engaged to teach French and Roman law in a school founded by the ministry. Students were sent to Europe and America

to complete their studies, and subsequently took part in the reforms. The labours of the ministry and its foreign and native assistants culminated in the production of a code of criminal law and criminal procedure in 1878. The procedure was modified in 1880 and 1882, and completely remodelled eight years later. The law was revised in 1880, the new code coming into operation in 1882; but the work of revision was carried on, in the light of advanced knowledge and further experience, during the next decade; and considerable changes continued to be made. A radical revision of the code was laid before Parliament so late as 1901. Japanese criminal law is founded mainly on the French: the principles of Roman law consequently prevail. Trials are inquisitorial; the presumption is against the accused; but punishments and procedure have been humanised in accordance with Christian ideas. Death by hanging has taken the place of the hideous penalties inflicted under the old law; and torture is abolished. Justice and administration are completely separated.

Civil law was taken in hand along with criminal. The process of bringing it into accordance with European principles and practice was forced upon the Japanese Government as an indispensable preliminary to the abolition of the humiliating juridical rights which a series of treaties secured to subjects of the Western Powers. The earlier attempts at reform, made under the influence of M. Boissonade, followed the French model; subsequently German influence prevailed; and, especially in the department of commercial law, the admirable German code has been closely followed. In 1890 an ordinance reorganised and regulated the various courts of justice; and in the following year a code of civil procedure and a code of commercial law were published. These codes, having been approved by the Diet, came into operation in 1893. No one is admitted to practise at the bar without passing certain examinations. The independence of the judicature is secured by a clause of the Constitution; but, except in the highest posts, the smallness of the salaries subjects the probity of the judges to obvious temptations.

While this great work was in progress, the scheme of a constitution was slowly and laboriously taking shape.

Immediately after the issue of the Imperial edict (1881) promising a Parliament, Count Ito, with a staff of qualified assistants, left for Europe, charged with the mission of enquiring into the principles and the practical working of European constitutions. On his return a special bureau was established for the purpose of sifting the information gleaned, and drafting a constitution for Japan. It would be interesting to know by what steps the Japanese statesmen arrived at their conclusions, what plans were rejected, what arguments were employed; but detailed reports, such as enable us to trace every step in the process by which the constitution of the United States was framed, unfortunately fail us hitherto in the case of Japan. It must suffice to say that after eight years of deliberation the Constitution was solemnly proclaimed on February 11, 1889.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this instrument is to be found in the safeguards by which the executive is protected from the encroachments of the representative bodies which it has called into existence. The statesmen of Japan, with all the political experience of the Western world to draw upon for their instruction, appear to have been impressed at least as much by the disadvantages and dangers as by the benefits of popular government. Foreseeing that, in order to maintain national independence and to fulfil what they regard as their mission in the East, unity of control and the unfettered power of employing all the forces of the nation would be indispensable conditions of success, they resolved, while enlisting the sympathies of the people, to secure the Crown against excessive popular interference. The Constitution of Japan, therefore, while drawing largely on such free polities as those of Great Britain and the United States, resembles, in essentials, the German system rather than any other of the Western world. There can be little doubt where Japanese sovereignty resides. Though limited in some noteworthy respects, it resides in the Crown.

It is the Emperor who, with many appeals to 'the glorious spirits of the Imperial Founder of our House and of our other Ancestors,' and 'by virtue of the supreme power inherited' from them, promulgates the 'immutable fundamental law' of the Constitution. The person of the

Emperor is 'sacred and inviolable.' He 'exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Imperial Diet.' He sanctions and promulgates laws. He convokes and prorogues the Diet, and dissolves the House of Representatives. When the Diet is not sitting he issues ordinances with the force of law, which, however, are valid only until the next session of the Diet. He appoints and dismisses all officials, civil and military; he 'confers titles of nobility and other marks of honour'; he has 'supreme command of the army and navy'; he 'declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties'; and he may declare a state of siege.

The rights of the subject follow the rights of the sovereign. 'No Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried, or punished, unless according to law.' Subject to the payment of legal taxes the rights of property are inviolable. The liberties of speech and publication, of public meeting and association, and of petition, 'within the limits of the law,' are secured. Similarly, 'within limits not prejudicial to peace and order,' religion is free.

The Imperial Diet consists of two Houses—a House of Peers, and a House of Representatives. Separate laws, not forming part of the Constitution, regulate the composition of the Houses, the method of election, etc.

The House of Peers consists of five classes, (1) members of the Imperial family; (2) princes and marquises; (3) counts, viscounts, and barons, elected as representatives of the several orders, the representatives of each order not exceeding one fifth of that order; (4) persons nominated, for life, by the Emperor on account of meritorious service to the State, or of erudition; (5) persons elected for seven years by and from the fifteen highest taxpayers in each city and prefecture, and subsequently nominated by the Emperor. The number of members from the two last classes is not to exceed the number of representatives of the hereditary nobility.

Members of the House of Representatives, numbering about 300 in all, are elected in every city and prefecture, one or more members from each. An elector must be twenty-five years of age; must have his permanent residence and have actually resided for the year preceding the election in the district for which he votes; and must

have paid direct national taxes to the amount of thirty shillings* in that year and district. A candidate for election must be thirty years of age; he need not have resided in the district for which he seeks election, but he must have paid thirty shillings in direct national taxes in that district during the previous year. Certain classes of persons, such as officers of the Imperial household, revenue and police officers, clergy and others, are ineligible. Persons actually serving in the army or navy can neither vote nor be elected. The same disability lies on certain classes of criminals, including convicted gamblers, for a specified period after completion of sentence. The heads of noble families cannot vote or sit in the Lower House; but other nobles, not being members of the House of Peers, enjoy both rights. The general election takes place on one day, normally July 1, throughout the country. Voting is by secret ballot. The term of membership is four years. Members receive a yearly allowance of 80*l*. When the House is dissolved a new House must be convoked within five months.

The Diet, thus constituted, is summoned every year. The session lasts three months, but may be prolonged by the Government, which may also convoke extraordinary sessions. Debates are public; but committees of each House—and a large proportion of the work, as in the United States, is done in committee—sit in secret. Members are free from arrest, except in cases of flagrant wrong-doing, and (a noteworthy exception) 'of offences connected with a state of internal commotion or foreign trouble.' Every law, except modifications of the Imperial House Law, requires the consent of the Diet. Bills may be submitted by the Government or initiated by either House. Both Houses have the right of presenting addresses to the Emperor, and of receiving petitions. 'Ministers of State and delegates of the Government may at any time sit and speak'—but not, apparently, vote—'in either House.' The Presidents and Vice-Presidents of both Houses are nominated by the Emperor: in the Upper House without restriction, in the Lower from among three candidates elected by the House for each office. An elaborate code, promulgated along with the Constitution,

* This was subsequently lowered to twenty shillings.

regulates the conduct of affairs in the Diet, the relations of the two Houses, etc.

The power of the purse is the lever by which Parliament, in all constitutional countries, has generally sought to bring pressure on the Government. To reduce this pressure within narrow limits has been a primary aim of Japanese statecraft. Under the Constitution the imposition of a new tax or the modification of an old one, and the raising of national loans, are subject to the consent of the Diet, which also controls the national revenue and expenditure by means of an annual budget. The budget is laid first before the House of Representatives; otherwise the Lower House possesses no advantage in this respect over the Upper. So far the power of the purse appears to reside in the Diet. But certain clauses of the Constitution point to a different conclusion.

In the first place, the expenditure of the Imperial House, though defrayed out of the Treasury, requires no consent of the Diet, unless an increase is contemplated. Secondly,

'Those already fixed expenditures based by the Constitution on the powers appertaining to the Emperor, and such expenditures as may have arisen by the effect of law or that appertain to the legal obligations of the Government, shall be neither rejected nor reduced by the Diet without consent of the Government.'

Thirdly,

'When the Diet cannot be convoked owing to the external or internal condition of the country, in case of urgent need for the maintenance of public safety, the Government may take all necessary financial measures by means of an Imperial ordinance.'

Lastly—and this power seems to be borrowed directly from that in the Prussian constitution, so dexterously used by Bismarck in the early sixties—

'When the Diet has not voted on the budget, or when the budget has not been brought into actual existence, the Government shall carry out the budget of the previous year.'

It should be borne in mind that these restrictions are not part of the ordinary law, but are inserted in the

Constitution; that no ordinary law can override the Constitution; and that no amendment to the Constitution can even be discussed in the Diet, save on the initiative of the Crown. Such enactments, when considered along with other Imperial powers, make it abundantly clear that a factious parliamentary majority, however numerous, would have little chance, in the last resort, of forcing its will upon the Government.

The Constitution of Japan is evidently what is called a 'rigid' constitution. The political system, though no longer autocratic, is far removed from a democracy. The storms of party have raged violently within and without the Diet during the thirteen years that have elapsed since its first meeting in November 1890, but they have not prevented the Government from holding on its course, or impaired the uniformity and firmness of its control.

Into the internal political history of Japan since 1890 it is not our business to enter. The meeting of the first Constitutional Parliament may be called the penultimate act of the Revolution which began with the visit of the American squadron thirty-seven years before. There remains but one part of our task, but a by no means unimportant one—to recount the steps by which Japan emancipated itself from the tutelage in which it was placed by its original treaty-relations with foreign Powers. It should never be forgotten that the spirit which animated the reformers at the outset of the Revolution, was an anti-foreign one; and, though their violent and outspoken hostility gave way to a wiser and more friendly policy, they never ceased to keep steadily in view, as the ultimate and dominant aim of their efforts, the liberation of their country from foreign control.

The situation in which Japan was placed by the treaties with foreign Powers executed in the time of her weakness, in the fifties and sixties of the last century, was not only humiliating but highly inconvenient. To begin with, at a date when money was badly wanted, Japan was precluded from raising more than an inconsiderable revenue from her growing industry and commerce. The convention of 1866 fixed the duties leviable on imports and exports, so far as the treaty-Powers were

concerned, at a maximum of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. All the treaties included a 'most-favoured-nation' clause; consequently it was impossible to buy off, by special concessions, the opposition of any single Power, or to make a breach in the compact array of obligations under which the country lay. Each treaty-State—and there were some fifteen in all—had its own consular jurisdiction, its distinct system of law, civil and criminal. Diversity of language added to the difficulties experienced by Japanese subjects who had dealings with the consular courts. The legal education of the consuls was in many cases defective; and appeals were practically impossible, for the courts of appeal lay on the other side of the world—in London, for instance, or in Leipzig. Not only did civil and criminal cases, in which Europeans were concerned, come before the consular courts, but even matters of police and domestic administration. If a European insisted on travelling on a Japanese railway without a ticket, the Japanese authorities were left practically without redress. If regulations were issued for the exclusion of cholera infection, they could not be enforced against Europeans. It may easily be imagined that it required all the patience and self-restraint which a high-spirited and naturally exclusive people could command to put up with such a state of things.

The Japanese Government made repeated and persistent efforts to free the country from these intolerable obligations; but for a long time they strove in vain. A term for the revision of the treaties had been fixed; and the end of this term coincided roughly with the abolition of feudalism. A prime object of the Iwakura embassy (1871) was the revision of the treaties; but from this point of view the embassy completely failed. 'First amend your laws,' was the answer generally received. The laws were amended and codified, and that too, as we have seen, on European principles; but the treaties were not revised. It is to the credit of the United States that the first advance in this direction was made by that Power. In July 1878 a treaty was signed at Washington which, while leaving the question of jurisdiction where it was, made important concessions to Japan, especially in regard to the coasting-trade and the right of determining import and export dues. But these concessions

were rendered almost worthless by the stipulation that the treaty should not come into force until Japan had effected a similar revision with all the other treaty-Powers. Many years were to elapse before this took place.

In 1882 a conference of representatives of all the treaty-Powers met in Tokio to consider the question of revision. Japan was represented by one of her foremost statesmen, Kaoru Inouye, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had fully grasped the necessity of breaking, once for all, with the old jealous and exclusive policy towards other States. He laid before the conference a proposal to throw the whole Empire open to foreign trade—an advantage to be met by the abolition of the consular jurisdictions. It was suggested that the treaties based on these proposals should be valid for twelve years, but that after eight years the tariffs and trade regulations should be subject to revision. This suggestion seems to have been unfavourably received by some of the foreign delegates; while, on the Japanese side, some opposition manifested itself to the opening of the whole country to foreign trade. Difficulties also arose in connexion with the length of the transitional period, and a proposal for the appointment of a certain number of foreign judges by Japan. In the end, after sitting for six months, the conference broke up without coming to an agreement.

A second conference met in May 1886. Count Inouye (as he now was) again represented Japan. The British and German delegates joined in a proposal to surrender the consular jurisdictions at once, without any transitional period. But difficulties of detail again arose, and certain safeguards were demanded which seemed to the Japanese Government to encroach upon the judicial independence of the State. Popular opposition to any such concessions ran high; and eventually, in July 1887, Count Inouye closed the conference, after it had sat for upwards of a year.

These repeated disappointments came near wearing out the patience of the Japanese people. The enthusiasm for foreign manners and institutions, which had risen to an almost absurd climax about 1885-6, now declined. A bitterness of feeling showed itself which led to several attacks on foreigners, the assassination of Count Okuma (who had succeeded Count Inouye at the Foreign Office)

on account of his foreign proclivities, and the attack on the Czarevitch in 1891. Nevertheless, the Government continued its patient efforts in the cause of treaty reform. In 1889 a treaty with Germany was signed at Berlin, which, while conceding the main demands on either side, involved the appointment of foreign jurists as judges in the Japanese Court of Cassation. This provision caused the Japanese Government to refuse ratification. Similar treaties with Russia and the United States broke down over the same obstacle.

At length, when the completion of the legal codes and the establishment of the Constitution had removed all reasonable grounds for anxiety, and proved the fitness of Japan to rule itself, the confidence of the foreign Powers was won, and the persistent efforts of the Japanese Government were crowned with success. It is pleasant to reflect that Great Britain was the first Power to give full effect to the recognition of Japan. In March 1894 a treaty was signed in London by Lord Kimberley and Viscount Aoki which, in consideration of the opening of Japan to British trade, put an end to the rights of extra-territoriality enjoyed by British settlements in Japan, abolished the consular jurisdictions and the other immunities enjoyed by British subjects in that country, and handed over the jurisdiction to the native courts. The example of Great Britain was followed first by the United States and then by the other treaty-Powers.

The new treaties came into force in 1899. In the interval the Chinese war had been fought and won. On June 30, 1899, the Emperor issued a proclamation in which the following passages occur. After stating that, 'Thanks to the traditions we have inherited and to the virtues of our ancestors, it has been granted to us to obtain full recognition of our sovereign rights,' the Emperor continues:—

'In regard to the revision of the treaties, our long-nourished wishes have at length, by means of a satisfactory agreement with the treaty-Powers, attained their end. Considering that the revised treaties are now about to come into force, we may regard this moment with joy and hearty satisfaction; and, while on the one hand we recognise the responsibilities which the altered state of things imposes on the Empire, on the other we hope that the new conditions will contribute to

build up our friendly relations with the Powers on a basis yet firmer than before. We expect, therefore, from our loyal subjects, ever ready as they are to discharge their public duties, that, in accordance with our wishes and the enlightened principles of our national policy, they will without exception receive in a kindly spirit the strangers who come to us from distant lands, and will thus strive to raise the national reputation and maintain the dignity of the Empire.' (Von Siebold.)

The spirit which inspires these words worthily marks the coming of age of a great people. Less than half a century had gone by since Japan, holding fast to her ancient ways, undisturbed through long ages by extraneous influences, lay, a slumbering and secluded group of islands in the Pacific, remote from all the stir of the Western world. In 1853 there was nothing to show that the 'Drang nach Osten' of the European Powers would not reduce her, as it has gone near to reducing China, to a pitiable condition of dismemberment and vassalage, and the more easily by reason of her insular position and the comparatively small numbers of her people. But Japan bestirred herself in time. She was safely guided by a wise monarch, and by statesmen of unsurpassed insight and discretion, through all the perils of domestic revolution, and through a crisis in her foreign relations—that of 1895—as formidable as any that ever beset a young and untried people. Transformed within and without, retaining her ancient fervid patriotism, but armed with all the panoply of modern science, she took her place as a great Power, only five years ago, in the comity of nations.

Art. XIII.—THE MILITIA AND VOLUNTEERS.

1. *Report of the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers; with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices.*
London: Spottiswoode, 1904. (Cd. 2061-4.)

THE Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers seems to have been appointed by the Government not with a view to making large reforms, but rather as a means of escape from parliamentary troubles. In February 1903 Mr Beckett, in the House of Commons, moved as an amendment to the address,

‘that this House humbly regrets that the organisation of the land forces is unsuited to the needs of the Empire, and that no proportionate gain in strength and efficiency has resulted from the recent increases in military expenditure.’

In the course of the debate the supporters of the amendment, some of whom were members of the party on which the Government relies, strongly urged the opinion that the land defence of the United Kingdom ought to be entrusted mainly, if not entirely, to the auxiliary forces. The effect of the debate was to shake the faith of the Government in Mr Brodrick's schemes, and to convince its members that some means must be found of staving off for the rest of the session a repetition of the attack. The simplest means appeared to be the appointment of a Royal Commission.

There was indeed a good reason why the Secretary of State should seek advice on the subject of the Volunteer force from persons conversant with its organisation and working. On November 4, 1901, an Order in Council had been issued modifying the conditions required to be fulfilled by volunteers and Volunteer corps for the purpose of earning the capitation grants by which the corps are maintained; and the Order in Council was followed by new regulations, dated November 27, 1901. One of the new conditions prescribed was that every corps should attend a camp of exercise for one week in each year, and that every volunteer should attend the camp for at least one week in every alternate year. This condition was not the invention of a perverse War Office. It was one

of the proposals made in a memorandum* submitted to the Commander-in-Chief in February 1901 on behalf of the Manchester Tactical Society, a body of volunteer and regular officers formed in 1881 for purposes of study. The new regulation for attendance at camp was much attacked in the London newspapers, for it was inconvenient to many of the London Volunteer corps. The evidence published by the Royal Commission proves that the Manchester Tactical Society represented the Volunteer force better than the London newspapers; for, out of some 200 corps which attend camp every year, twenty-three attend for a fortnight; and, of the remainder, 124 would be prepared to extend their time beyond a week if the money grants were increased. The outcry led to the appointment of an advisory board of volunteer commanding officers, and of similar boards for the Militia and Yeomanry. But the indifference of the Government to the special needs of the Militia and Volunteers is shown by the fact that, even before the Royal Commission reported, the advisory boards were dissolved.

To postpone a difficulty is not to solve it, but rather to insure that it will reappear in an aggravated form. The appointment of a Royal Commission is of all dilatory proceedings the one most liable to produce this kind of recoil on the Government that has recourse to it; for a Royal Commission, deriving its authority from the King, and being unpaid, is absolutely independent. The only means of regulating its action consists in the judicious definition of the task assigned to it—a definition which is embodied in the royal warrant. Now the terms of reference, in the present case, ran as follows:—

‘To inquire into the organisation, numbers, and terms of service of our Militia and Volunteer forces; and to report whether any, and, if any, what changes are required in order to secure that these forces shall be maintained in a condition of military efficiency and at an adequate strength.’

Nothing could be clearer, nothing more stringent, than the purpose here set forth; the Commission was to ascertain how to secure for the forces which it was to investigate both military efficiency and adequate strength.

* Appendices, p. 124.

Military efficiency means fitness for war; and adequate strength in a military body must be a strength sufficient to fulfil the duty which that body has to discharge. Thus the Commission was, by the terms of its reference, at once confronted with one of the most difficult and at the same time most vital problems of national defence. The Cabinet, which is responsible for the reference, had not sufficiently considered the meaning of its words, and was astonished and embarrassed by their consequences. The Marquis of Lansdowne said in the House of Lords on June 27, 1904, when the Report of the Commission was discussed:—

‘If our reference to the Commission was obscure, we greatly regret it; but we certainly understood that they were invited to report rather on the question of the measures which were necessary in order to maintain the popularity and the efficiency of the auxiliary forces than upon those much deeper and more complicated problems which have been touched upon during the debate and in parts of the Report.’

The Commission was bound, not by the unexpressed intentions of the Government, but by the terms of the reference, which are free from the obscurity lamented by Lord Lansdowne. There is, however, no sign that the Duke of Norfolk and his colleagues plunged into profound speculations, or tried to usurp the functions of a Committee of Defence. They received from the War Office a paper setting forth the requirements, as understood by the Secretary of State. But the questions put to witnesses in the elucidation of this paper revealed a startling divergence of opinion between the War Office and the Admiralty. The Commissioners sought enlightenment from the Admiralty. They were ready to offer themselves for conversion to the ideas of the ‘blue-water school.’ But the Government interfered by refusing to allow the Admiralty officers to give evidence, and by referring the Commission to the Committee of Defence. That body proposed to the Commission two hypotheses to be taken as the working basis of the enquiry, but was careful to avoid committing itself, except hypothetically, to either of them. The Commission, as requested, took these hypotheses to work from, but expressed no opinion upon them, and explicitly disclaimed responsibility for

them. 'It will be seen' (they say) 'that we had not the means of reaching, in any scientific manner, an independent conclusion as to the adequate strength to be provided.* But, after the publication of the Report, the Government, by the mouth of Lord Lansdowne, reproached the Commission in the following terms :—

'With regard to the further recommendation, that compulsion in some form or another should be resorted to, I think we must bear in mind that that recommendation was made upon a twofold hypothesis—in the first place, on the assumption that the country was denuded of regular troops, and, in the next place, that the Government had come to the conclusion that invasion, as distinguished from a mere raid, was within the bounds of possibility. Those are two very extensive hypotheses; and they are not the class of problem which, in our estimation, had been referred to the Commission.'†

Lord Lansdowne's hearers would hardly gather that the twofold hypothesis was the work, not of the Royal Commission, but of the Cabinet Committee of Imperial Defence.

The terms of the reference to the Commission, the estimate given by the War Office of the force required, and the correspondence with the Committee of Imperial Defence, led the Commission to the following conclusions, which are the key to the Report :—

An effective force—in other words, an army—of the strength proposed to us, can be required only to meet an invasion. Either an invasion is possible or it is not. If not, no military force is required for home defence; and our enquiry could hardly serve any practical purpose. But, if invasion is possible, it can be undertaken only by one of the great European Powers which possess forces highly trained and ready to move in large numbers at the shortest notice. . . . The Militia exist chiefly, and the Volunteers solely, for the purpose of resisting a possible invasion of the United Kingdom, which would be attempted only by a first-rate army. This purpose will not be fulfilled merely by a brave or creditable, but unsuccessful, resistance; it requires the defeat of the enemy. The standard of efficiency to be aimed at is therefore not a matter of opinion; the conditions of war

* Report, § 22.

† 'Times,' June 28, 1904.

and of the battlefield must be met, and no lower standard can be laid down.'

The Commissioners proceed, in section III of their Report, 'to measure by the standard of war conditions the Militia and Volunteer forces as they are.' As regards the Militia, the estimate is that the drill and training undergone by this force are insufficient to enable it at short notice to oppose trained troops in the field; that the average militia battalion would not be fit for fighting against a serious enemy until after several months' embodiment, though the militia garrison artillery would not require very much extra training to be ready for its war work. The Commissioners further find that the training of the militia officer is inadequate to enable him properly to lead troops. The Militia is imperfectly organised and equipped for war. Thus the Commission was 'forced to the conclusion that the Militia, in its existing condition, is unfit to take the field for the defence of this country.'

As regards the Volunteer force, the Commission observes that its training is hampered by difficulties as to both time and space; that the efficiency of the units varies greatly, and that, on the whole, neither the musketry nor the tactical training of the rank and file reaches the standard attained by the troops of a continental army. The organisation for war is imperfect. The Report dwells at some length on the qualifications of the officers of the Volunteer force:—

'That which distinguishes an army from a number of armed men is the cohesion which enables it to act as a single organism. The men are given their places in a framework which is formed by the officers and non-commissioned officers; and this framework is the skeleton by which the whole is supported and made one.'

The volunteer officers receive less systematic training than the officers of any regular army, and are not, as a rule, so well trained as the officers of the Swiss Militia. The consequence is that

'they are of very unequal quality. Many of them have given themselves an excellent military education, and would be a valuable element in any army; the majority, however, have neither the theoretical knowledge nor the practical skill in

the handling of troops which would make them competent instructors in peace or leaders in war. This inequality of attainment prevents the Volunteer force from acquiring the cohesion needed for war.'

The Commissioners were agreed in the conclusion

'that the Volunteer force, in view of the unequal military education of the officers, the limited training of the men, and the defects of equipment and organisation, is not qualified to take the field against a regular army.'

The Report next examines the measures by which the efficiency of the two forces may be increased. For the Militia it recommends a six months' continuous training in the first year, followed in the second, third, and fourth years by a six weeks' training, and by a fortnight's training in each of the four subsequent years of an eight years' engagement. It further recommends the transference of the commanding officers and a portion of the company officers to the permanent staff, and the permanent organisation of the Militia into brigades and divisions.

Thus far the Commissioners seem to have been unanimous. Of those who wrote dissentient reports, Colonels Satterthwaite and Dalmahoy expressly record their concurrence with the majority up to this point; and Sir Ralph Knox recommends for the Militia a scheme not materially differing from that of the majority report. But as regards the means of improving the Volunteers, the Commissioners were not agreed. The two volunteer colonels, while rejecting the principle of universal service, held that the measures which seemed to them necessary could not be carried out without either pay to the men or compulsion; and they based their recommendations on the acceptance of the principle of compulsion, which is also favoured by Sir R. Knox. The majority of the Commission thought it their duty to ascertain by what changes the Volunteer force 'could be brought to the highest degree of military efficiency consistent with its existing constitution'—in other words, to find out how, without compulsion, the Volunteer force can be improved.

The evidence given was found to repeat certain points with such persistency that, when these points were classified and put together, they formed the outlines of a

method by which the Volunteer force can be improved. The Report, in tracing these outlines, lays great stress upon what it describes as the 'condition governing' the whole volunteer system, and upon a cardinal principle which it recommends. The governing condition is that the volunteer earns his own living, and cannot comply with demands upon him which are inconsistent with his doing so. The cardinal principle is that the cost of all instruction, of all exercises, and of all necessary travelling, should be defrayed by the State, so that no volunteer may be out of pocket in consequence of his endeavour to train himself as a soldier. Subject to the governing condition explained, and to the cardinal principle indicated by the Commission, the points forming the outline of the system recommended are:—

'i. The Volunteer force should be managed at the War Office by a separate department, the head of which should have special knowledge of, and experience with, Volunteers, and should report direct to the Army Council.

'ii. The force should be organised in its war formations of brigades and divisions; and commanders and staffs should be appointed to these bodies. These commanders should hold no other appointments, and should be responsible for the training, instruction and inspection of the bodies under their command, for their mobilisation, and for their leading in war.

'iii. Under the Volunteer Act, 1863, the financial administration, as well as the discipline of the Volunteer force, rests upon the commanding officers. The income of a corps is almost entirely derived from capitation grants; and commanding officers have in consequence been compelled to attach undue importance to numbers as compared with real efficiency. To obviate this, it is desirable that of the money granted by the State to each corps a portion should take the form of an allowance per battery or company proportionate to the establishment, and that the balance only should be issued in the form of capitation grants.

'iv. The training of the Volunteer force should be concentrated upon what is essential for its tasks in war. Corps told off for special duties in war should, during peace, practise those duties.

'v. All Volunteer corps should be allowed to train up to fourteen days in camp in each year, with adequate allowances. This appears to the Commission to be the longest period practicable.

'vi. Ranges and grounds of exercise for all corps should be provided at the cost of the State, and adequate financial provision should be made for the necessary cost of movement to and from them.

'vii. Transport and equipment for mobilisation should be provided.

'viii. Tactical schools should be formed, and Volunteer officers encouraged to attend them and other schools of instruction by elastic conditions as to time and place, and by sufficient money allowances to cover all necessary expenses.

'ix. An increase of the minimum number of attendances other than those in camp required from each man as a condition of earning a capitation grant is desirable in the interest of efficiency. The present average is 19 in the Infantry and 34 in the Artillery; and the minimum should certainly be more than 10.'

These are in substance all the proposals of the majority report for the improvement of the Volunteer force. A number of minor points are enumerated in a schedule, which has evidently been used as a catalogue of such volunteer grievances brought before the Commission as that body thought worthy of consideration. The Report, in recommending the adoption of its nine points, says :—

'Those who best know the Volunteer force, and the spirit that animates it, believe that if these recommendations are carried out there will be a marked improvement, and that a standard much in advance of anything yet attained will gradually be reached. In this view we concur. These measures will enlarge the opportunities of the volunteer officers, non-commissioned officers and men to educate themselves; and for the development of this force it is to the initiative and energy of its members that the nation must look. At the same time the creation of the organisation for war, and the appointment of war leaders, will provide the machinery for setting before the Volunteers the standard at which they must aim.'

The majority of the Commissioners, in their general observations regarding the measures proposed, observe that any considerable increase of the demands made upon the time of volunteer officers and men appears to be out of the question, because officers and men alike are tied by the economical necessities of their civil employment. This difficulty, they assert, cannot be overcome

by any system of pay, because men cannot, in return for high pay for a few weeks, afford to sacrifice their permanent employment; and because individual employers cannot afford to cripple their establishments by encouraging the prolonged absence of those upon whose energies their own success in business depends.

This section of the Report concludes with a paragraph that has escaped the notice of those critics who imagine that the Commission treated the Volunteer force as of no account:—

‘The Volunteer force has had a great effect in educating the people of Great Britain to think of the Army as a national institution, and at the same time it has enlarged the ideas of professional soldiers on the subject of the means and methods of military training. We deprecate any changes which would modify the spirit which this force has cherished, or any fundamental change in its position, except as a part of some comprehensive measure which would replace both the Militia and Volunteer forces by an organisation which, while giving greater military efficiency and at least equal numbers, would also render permanent that sympathy between the nation and the Army which, before the rise of the modern Volunteer force, was undoubtedly defective.’

The recommendations made are worth considering both in their positive and in their negative aspects. The Commission endorses the opinion almost unanimously held by the officers of the Volunteer force, that the working of the force has not been thoroughly understood at the War Office, and that special arrangements for its headquarters management are indispensable. But the majority report avoids the attempt to dictate to the Government what those special arrangements should be. It insists merely on a separate department, the head of which should thoroughly understand the volunteers. But it does not propose to interfere with the constitution of the Army Council; and its recommendations would be met by the appointment, as head of the Volunteer department, of a person of volunteer experience, who would not necessarily be a member of that Council for all purposes. It does not recommend that the same department should have charge of the Militia, though it very plainly hints that the general management of the Militia should be in closer

touch than heretofore with the general and local conditions of that force.

On two matters that bulk largely in the evidence the majority report is silent. It does not recommend any change in the legal status of the Volunteers, either by their being subjected to the provisions of the Army Act, or by their being required to enrol themselves, apart from the present agreements with corps, for a term of years. Possibly those who framed the Report thought that these were matters that could better be dealt with by a competent Volunteer department after it had been some time working through the divisional organisation proposed.

It will be seen that the majority of the Commissioners fully complied with the wishes of those who, like Lord Lansdowne, appear to have hoped that the Report would indicate some means of improving the efficiency of the Militia and Volunteers without making a radical change in the character of those forces. This part of the work of the Commission is summed up in the words:—

‘If the Militia and Volunteer forces are to continue to be, as they have hitherto been, auxiliary forces for the purpose of resisting, in conjunction with the regular Army, the forces of an invader, the changes set forth in the fourth section of this Report will prepare them for that duty and lead to a great improvement in their efficiency, while permitting them to maintain the requisite numerical strength.’

But a body commissioned by the King cannot set at naught the instructions conveyed in the warrant which appoints it; and the terms of the warrant were explicit. The Commission was debarred by the intervention of the Government from enquiring into the purposes for which ‘adequate’ forces were to be provided. While disclaiming all responsibility for the hypotheses of the Committee of Defence, which indicated ‘an effective force of 100,000 militia and 200,000 volunteers,’ and spoke of an ‘invasion after a considerable portion of the regular troops might have left the country,’ the Report proceeds to consider the case thus presented to it:—

‘We cannot assert’ (say the Commissioners) ‘that, even if the measures recommended in the preceding section were fully carried out, these forces would be equal to the task of defeating a modern continental army in the United Kingdom.’

If the purpose is to produce a force which, without substantial help from the regular Army, can be relied upon to defeat an invader, then improvements in the Militia and Volunteer forces will not be sufficient. . . . The principles which have been adopted, after the disastrous failure of older methods, by every great State of the European continent, are, first, that as far as possible the whole able-bodied male population shall be trained to arms; secondly, that the training shall be given in a period of continuous service with the colours, not necessarily in barracks; and thirdly, that the instruction shall be given by a body of specially educated and highly trained officers. We are convinced that only by the adoption of these principles can an army for home defence, adequate in strength and military efficiency to defeat an invader, be raised and maintained in the United Kingdom.'

This is the Commissioners' reply to the Prime Minister and the Committee of Defence. These authorities furnished the premisses of a force which, without substantial help from the regular army, can be relied upon to defeat an invader; the Commission, upon the evidence before it, explains that for that purpose nothing but universal training will suffice. No one who has examined the evidence can doubt that from the premisses supplied the conclusion is inevitable. But the Government which is responsible for the premisses now peremptorily rejects the conclusion, asserting that its hypotheses were mere hypotheses not deserving of serious consideration, and that, since proposing them to the Commission, it has changed its mind and gone over wholly to the so-called blue-water school. The members of the Commission may possibly have their opinion of the treatment they have received at the hands of the Government. But the Report only says, at the conclusion of the recital of the communications from the Committee of Defence:—

'Your Commission has received no further communication from the Committee of Defence, and has no knowledge of any decision to which the Committee may have come on the subject of the conditions of possible invasion or of the number of troops required to repel it.'

The Commission refrains from making detailed recommendations on the subject of universal training to arms, but makes general observations, which show that the

subject was considered more fully than appears in the Report. It is worth while, before considering the positive proposals of that document, to examine the hypothesis—on which the Commission, having accepted it from the Committee of Defence, pronounces no opinion—of the possibility of invasion, and its place in any scheme of British preparation for wars. We start from the belief in the primacy of the navy in the defence of Great and Greater Britain, and hold that any and every British war must be considered first in the light of the theory of naval strategy. It is necessary to comprehend with some exactitude what that theory is; and for this purpose we shall borrow definitions that have already met with fairly general acceptance.

‘The command of the sea means the possession of a fleet which has gained so decisive a victory, or series of victories, as to render hopeless any renewal of the struggle against it. The territories of the Power having the command of the sea are virtually safe against attack by sea; and the territories of a Power which possesses any fighting fleet at all are unlikely to be attacked until its fleet has been defeated or destroyed. Any Power aiming at attack upon territory across the sea must endeavour first to obtain command of the sea—that is, to destroy the fleets of its enemy; and any operations against territory undertaken without this preliminary will be hazardous and uncertain.

‘The British Navy, then, so long as it maintains the superiority at sea, is a sufficient protection against invasion for every part of the Empire except India and Canada. If, however, the navy were to suffer decisive defeat, if it were driven to seek the shelter of its fortified harbours and were kept there, or if it were destroyed, then not only would every part of the Empire be open to invasion, but the communications between the several parts would be cut, and no mutual succour would be possible.

‘The defeat of the British fleet would, of course, be effected by purely naval operations; but the acquiescence in its destruction could, perhaps, only be secured by a blow aimed at the source of British power; and therefore the establishment by an enemy of his naval superiority would almost certainly be followed by an invasion of Great Britain. So long as the British Navy can be maintained invincible, the Empire would be adequately defended against the attack of any European Power other than Russia [or, we must add, the United States];

and for such defence, therefore, no more is needed than complete naval preparation, and such military preparation as is required for the full efficiency of the navy.*

The writers of these passages examined the means by which the command of the sea thus described could be attained. They described the strategy known as Lord St Vincent's, which, at the outset, placed in front of every one of the enemy's military ports a British naval force superior to that which the enemy had within it. But while, in 1892, they found that Great Britain's naval force fell far short of that which would be needed for the adoption of this policy, even against a single maritime rival, in 1897 they recorded

'the impossibility of attaining, at any rate during the remaining years of this century, the proportion required by the ideal standard to the forces of a combination of two naval Powers.'

That was before the German naval programmes of 1898 and 1900, since which the ideal of Great Britain carrying out against a coalition the policy of Lord St Vincent has become altogether impracticable.

In any future war against a great Power or Powers, Great Britain's command of the sea will be challenged, and will have to be asserted by fighting without the advantages of the plan just described. What, for such an event, is the 'military preparation required for the full efficiency of the navy?' The problem can be illustrated by one or two concrete hypotheses. Assume a quarrel with two or more great Powers, having between them fortified harbours both in the Mediterranean and on the north-west coast of Europe; and assume a British Navy only slightly superior in numbers to the combined hostile navies. The coalition prepares a military force to be transported to Egypt for the conquest of that country. How is Egypt to be defended? If by a British fleet in the Mediterranean, with a decisive superiority over the enemy's Mediterranean fleet, the enemy's fleet outside the Mediterranean will have at least an equality with the British fleet outside that sea. If, while the struggle is

* 'Imperial Defence,' by the Right Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke and Spenser Wilkinson. New edition, 1897, pp. 39-41.

being decided in southern waters, a battle were lost in the Channel or the North Sea, the enemy could follow up his victory by landing an army in England. The Mediterranean fleet might be recalled and Egypt left to its fate; yet an army once landed in this country, if not effectively opposed, might cripple the nation and possibly capture the arsenals upon which the navy depends. Even supposing that the Mediterranean fleet could be recalled in time to prevent an invasion—a doubtful question, considering that it might be in the Levant, ten days' sail from London—Egypt would still have to be left to its fate, and the safety of India would be at least imperilled. But, if there were an effective army in Great Britain, the whole fleet might safely be sent to the Mediterranean, for, in that case, a foreign army could not be landed here with any hope of success.

Let us take another possibility. The Anglo-Japanese treaty contemplates emergencies which might involve this country in war with the Dual Alliance. Whatever the recent agreement may have done—and it has doubtless done much—to stave off such a danger, the possibility remains. A naval triumph might be gained, but it would not be gained without heavy loss and a serious diminution of our naval strength. Suppose that, at such a moment, when the bulk of our fleets were refitting in Malta, Gibraltar, or elsewhere, a fifth Power should step in with demands which we could not concede; or suppose that such an intervention were to take place when the bulk of our regular army was engaged abroad, in India, Persia, or elsewhere, and the fleet employed in keeping open communications. If war with this fifth Power were the consequence, an invasion would then not only become possible, but would probably be attempted. At all events the mere threat or prospect of it would paralyse our military action abroad, and would, in the present, or even in an improved condition of the auxiliary forces, necessitate the recall of our regular troops and the abandonment of military operations beyond the seas.

We conclude, then, that there are cases in which an invasion of Great Britain is possible, not only during a period of conflict for the command of the sea, when an army of limited size might be risked on the attempt to strike at the base of Great Britain's naval power, but

also in the event of a defeat of the British Navy. The country, therefore, requires a military force at home to form a garrison for Great Britain against what may be called invasion by *coup de main*, and also as the cadre of an army for resistance *en masse* against invasion in the extreme case of naval disaster.

It is often said, we are aware, that to talk of an invasion is absurd, for it would be unnecessary for any Power or coalition of Powers that might have destroyed our navy or driven it into port to run the risk of actual invasion. All that would be required would be to blockade our ports and starve us into submission in a few weeks. Consequently an army to resist an invasion is a superfluity, for it would never be called upon to act. In this case we may well ask, What then are the Volunteers for? But the grounds on which this view is based are in themselves unreasonable, for it is not to be supposed that neutral Powers, whose interest it is to supply this country with food, would allow corn and meat to be declared contraband of war. Food would be imported, though doubtless at famine prices; and invasion would become a necessity for the enemy.

These hypothetical cases may serve to show that the existence of a sufficient military force in the United Kingdom is necessary to enable the navy to devote itself freely to its proper tasks. This is the opinion of Sir John Colomb, a very high authority on the defence of the Empire. His words are :—

'I do not for a moment underrate the immense importance and absolute necessity of being prepared to render invasion impossible by purely military forces. If we are not so prepared, we stake the fate of the Empire on, perhaps, a single naval engagement. A temporary reverse at sea might (by the enemy following up his advantage) be converted into final defeat on land, resulting in a total overthrow of all further power of resistance. It is necessary for the safety of the Channel that invasion be efficiently guarded against, so that, should our home fleet be temporarily disabled, we may, under cover of our army, prepare and strengthen it to regain lost ground, and renew the struggle for that which is essential to our life as a nation and our existence as an Empire—the command of the waters of the United Kingdom.' ('Defence of Great and Greater Britain,' p. 54.)

Those who doubt the soundness of this judgment may study the words of Captain Mahan, which, though written as a commentary upon special historical facts, yet perhaps admit of a wider application.

'If the true end of naval war is merely to assure one or more positions ashore, the navy becomes simply a branch of the army for a particular occasion, and subordinates its action accordingly; but, if the true end is to preponderate over the enemy's navy and so control the sea, then the enemy's ships and fleets are the true objects to be assailed on all occasions. That the navy is the first line of defence, both in order and importance, by no means implies that there is or should be no other.' ('Influence of Sea-power upon History,' p. 288.)

Again, Captain Mahan elsewhere stigmatises the opinion, that there is, or should be, no other line of defence than the navy, as a 'forced and extravagant interpretation, for which naval officers have been largely responsible, of the true opinion that a navy is the best protection for a sea frontier.'

In view of these possibilities, the Duke of Norfolk's Commission was not content to rely upon the Militia and Volunteer forces, even as improved by the proposals made in the fourth section of the Report, but preferred to recommend the acceptance of the principle of universal training. Their justification is contained in the word 'cohesion' (see above, p. 313), and in the estimate given of the attainments and possibilities of the volunteer officers. On these subjects the judgment of the Commissioners appears to have been materially influenced by the evidence given to them. The opinions of two regular officers of experience and ability, both of whom spoke in unusually favourable terms of the Volunteer force, deserve to be quoted. Sir Ian Hamilton was asked what time the volunteer would take to train up to the level of the regular soldier. He replied :—

'I think he would train very quickly if you took away all the men from a regular battalion and filled it up with volunteers, putting them under military discipline and under regular officers. I think that they would make very decent infantry in five or six months.' (Evidence, i, question 1182.)

Colonel C. P. Ridley, an officer who greatly distinguished himself in South Africa, and who now commands a

brigade of volunteers, was asked to say what was his general confidence in the Volunteer force, from the point of view of what they would have to do in case of invasion. He replied :—

'I should place very great reliance upon them in what they were called upon to do. I think they would answer to whatever they were called upon to do in a way that would astonish a good many people. . . . I have very great confidence in the spirit of those battalions that I am in contact with, and I think their training has been much more thoroughly carried out than people realise. . . . At the end of their training' (he continued) 'they are, with the exception of shooting, I think, fit to place with any troops in the world, though of course, speaking generally, they require filling up with officers who are competent to lead in the field. . . . Except when they are in camp there is no possibility really for the officers to acquire much of the knowledge and familiarity with their work which is absolutely necessary in the field.' (Evidence, ii, pp. 21, 22.)

Colonel Ridley's further evidence showed that he thought that, in order to render the officers competent to lead in the field, a good deal of extra time and training would be necessary, which some could give but others could not; and he evidently thought that even then only a proportion would reach the necessary standard.

The judgment of these high officers, both of whom have seen the Volunteers in peace and war, is confirmed by that of many of the volunteer officers of Colonel Ridley's excellent brigade.* There was abundant evidence, too, that neither the supply of officers nor their power of giving their time freely to their training is on the increase. Many volunteer witnesses asked that the officers should be subject to the Army Act; and, when pressed for the reason, explained that they hoped in this way to better the *status* of volunteer officers. The widespread discontent of volunteer officers with their position hardly tends to show that the force as a whole has quite the spirit described by Colonel Ridley; and the frequent occurrence of the demand for the enforcement of the militia ballot, as a means of filling up the ranks of volunteer corps, points to a weakening in many parts of the country of the zeal which has made and maintained the Volunteer force.

* See Appendices lxxiii and lxxiv.

The Commission was driven to the conclusion that, in consideration of the necessarily imperfect training of the men, the Volunteer force could not be relied upon, with no other framework than that supplied by a body of amateur officers and non-commissioned officers, to turn out as a field-army sure of defeating a number of the best trained and best led army corps that the European continent can produce. But, if a military force for home defence is needed, and if the Volunteer system does not produce a force that can be counted upon to face with any possibility of success the highly trained troops of France or Germany, some other system must be adopted. Those who have objected to the Report of the Commission have not shown either that the nation can dispense with a military force for home defence, or that the Militia and Volunteers can be rendered equal to the strain of war. They have for the most part been content to denounce the system proposed by the Commission, to which they have applied the unpopular name 'conscription.'

The Volunteers have for many years been described as 'citizen soldiers,' though there has never been any necessary connexion between the volunteer's service and the citizen's rights. The volunteer has a duty only in the sense that he imposes it on himself at his pleasure, and lays it down when his pleasure changes. The Commission proposes to make a reality of the name 'citizen soldiers' by asserting the principle that it is part of a citizen's duty to be trained for the national defence and to take part in it should the occasion arise. To refuse to recognise that principle, and to entrust the defence of the State to a body of half-trained men, however patriotic they may be, is, say the Commissioners, to endanger the safety of the State. We cordially endorse this view; and we cannot help feeling that, in their hearts, most opponents of the principle—a principle, be it remembered, recognised by every other civilised state in Europe—will also endorse it. If the national defence is not a duty, why are the Volunteers praised and called patriotic? The praise is undeserved, except on the ground that they are doing what they ought to do. Why should these particular persons discharge the duty rather than others?

The practical question is how the principle of universal service is to be applied. The Commission suggests that

every citizen of sound physique should, on reaching the military age, receive a military training sufficient to give him a thorough mastery of all that is essential for a private soldier in a war in the United Kingdom. It expresses the opinion that such a training could be given in a period less than a year, if thoroughly qualified instructors were employed; and it suggests that the lessons should occupy the best hours of the day and be given from day to day until the course has been completed. This is implied in the words 'a period of continuous service with the colours, not necessarily in barracks.' After the termination of the course the citizen soldier would recover the full control of his time, except that in each of the two years following that in which he had been trained he would be required to attend at manœuvres for a few weeks. The Commission has also made some enquiry into numbers and cost, and is of opinion on both heads that the adoption of the system is practicable for this country; that it is consistent with voluntary enlistment for the navy and for the regular army—presumably the regular army abroad; and that it would in a few years provide the nation with a very large reserve of military strength.

The Royal Commission lays stress upon the chief consideration that has led to this part of its Report. Employers of labour cannot afford to give long holidays to those of their workmen who happen to be volunteers. This is a fatal obstacle which must prevent the Volunteers from reaching more than a low standard of military efficiency; and it can be overcome only by the definition of a duty to the State transcending the economical needs or desires of individuals. (Report, §§ 57 and 62.)

The remarkable thing about these proposals is that they should have been received with astonishment and be treated as impracticable. The principle that every child must attend school for a number of years was adopted nearly thirty-five years ago, and has not been found to have undermined either the British constitution or the national character. It is but a natural extension of the same principle that every young man, on attaining a suitable age, should be taught so much of military discipline, of the use of arms, and of the exercises of war as will enable him, in case of need, to take his place among the defenders of his country.

The Commissioners, quite rightly, did not consider it part of their business to dilate upon the general advantages of universal service to the nation. We therefore reserve what we have to say on this topic for another occasion, merely remarking now that, to our minds, the strongest arguments in favour of the principle are that in no other way is there any hope that in this country the organisation of government for purposes of naval and military administration can be rendered efficient; and that by no other method can a professional class of officers in the modern sense be produced.

For many years past only two classes of people in this country have taken a serious interest in problems of national defence. They are a limited number of political writers for the Press, and the officers and men of the Volunteer force. A government can afford to ignore both these classes, and to regulate its naval and military administration by purely party considerations. But let every citizen have had his military training and be qualified to shoulder his rifle in case of emergency, and there will be a public opinion on the subject of naval and military efficiency which will not tolerate such vagaries as have marked recent military administration.

The interest of the officers of the army in what used to be called the art of war has steadily increased for many years. But the belief that the career of an officer is professional, in the sense that it demands thorough and systematic study as well as assiduous practice, has not yet been fully accepted by those whom it concerns. Let them be entrusted with the military training of all their fellow-citizens, and they will find, as others have found before them, that responsibility for education cannot be fully met without whole-hearted devotion and full time, and that instruction cannot be of the best unless it is inspired and guided by that pursuit of knowledge to which the learned of our time apply the name research.
